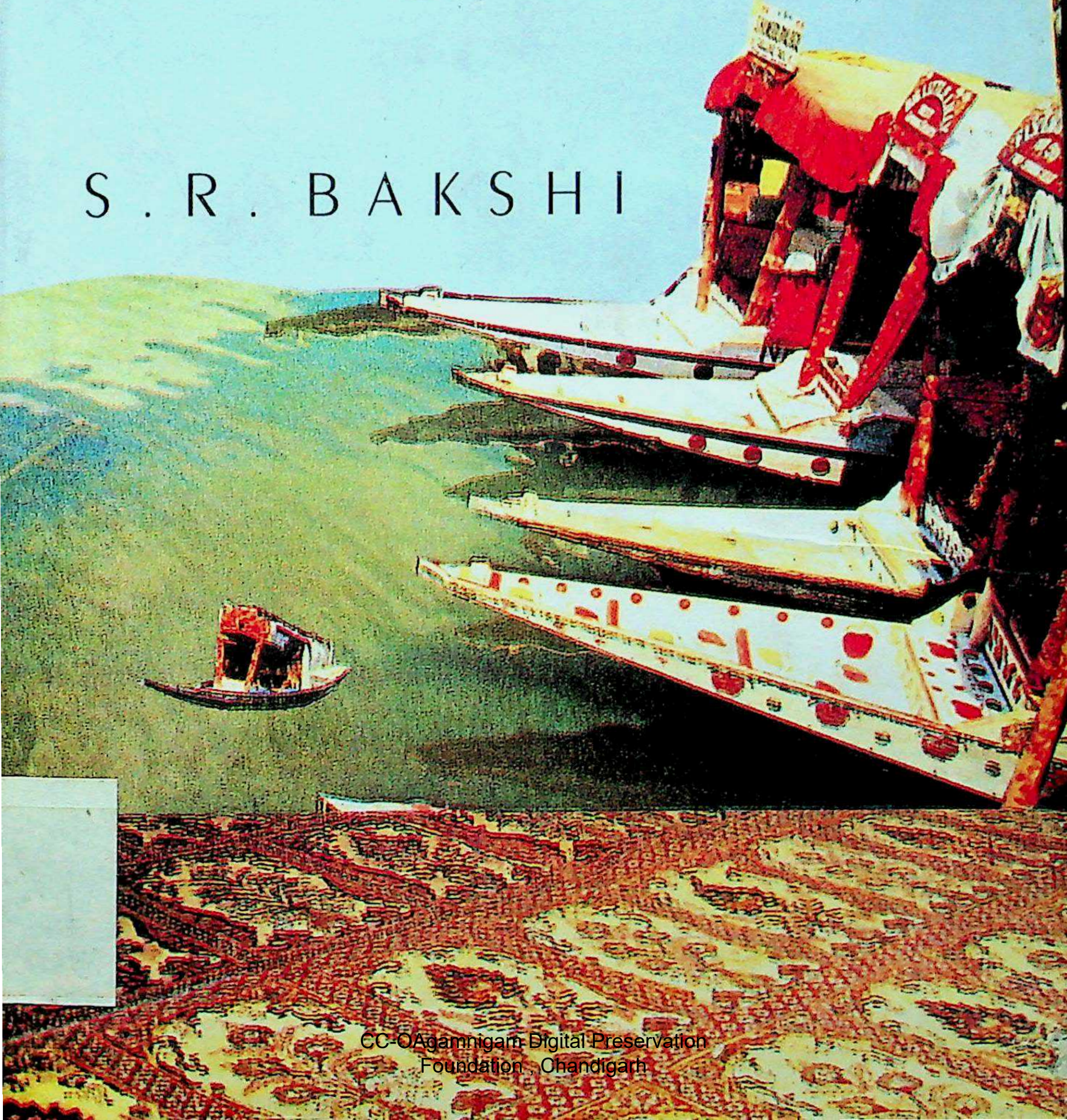
KASHMIR
THROUGH AGES

VOLUME 1

S.R. BAKSHI



The volumes in this set deal with the history, society and culture of Kashmir Valley in ancient, medievel and modern periods. They depict its developments under several rulers, Hindus, Muslims, Afghans, Sikhs and Dogras. The Valley indeed is very attractive in many ways and tourists from Asian and European countries show deep interest in its romantic setting. Several Himalayan ranges, lakes, rivers, springs, temples, mosques, churches, snowy peaks, fruits and simple life of the people in the rural areas speak of its richness in beauty.

The political and administrative history has been combined with trade and commerce, agriculture, flora and fauna, societal awareness, romantic glaciers, role of the National Conference under the leadership of Sheikh Abdullah, Kashmir problem in UNO and role of India and Pakistan in this regard.

These volumes would be useful for teachers, scholars, students and Indian and foreign tourists.

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Kashmir Through Ages

Kashmir Through Ages

Volume-1

History and People

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S. R. Bakshi

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Preface

The valley of Kashmir, Ladakh and Jammu ruled by Hindu, Muslim, and Dogra rulers pose a serious problem on account of their geographical situatioin. Its beautiful and scenic beauty of mountains, rivers, lakes, several kinds of fruit, flora and fauna and healthy climate, attract the attention of millions of tourists from all over the world. Rightly compared with Switzerland in many ways, people throng here to enjoy their time at several places which indeed have historical and religious importance. You may find here old mouments, temples and mosques built here long time back. The carpets, shawls handicrafts, apples and other fruits catch the attention of exporters all over the world. Millions of rupees are collected from these exports.

I have dealt with numerous themes having bearing on the Kashmir valley. These are geography, people, cradle of several races, Ladakh—its people and culture, Muslim, Aghan, Sikh and Dogra rulers, Gilgit, Buddhist monuments, Srinagar—the valley, food-habits of people, rivers and towns, the Kashmiri Pandits, social life, society and religion, lakes-Dal Lake and Wular Lake, temples, folklore and folk-songs, Sheikh Abdullah as leader, internal problems, political correspondence, speeches of Sheikh Abdullah, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, problem of accession, role of the Security Council, role of Frank Graham and Gunnar Jarring, speeches of Menon Chagla and statement by Mridula Sarabhai.

I have collected the material from several institutions viz.

the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, Delhi University Library, Jawaharlal Nehru University Library, Sapru Huse Library, Parliament House Library and last but not the least, Indian Council of Historical Research Library, New Delhi. I feel much beholden to the authorities of these institutions for their academic support to me during my researches.

—S. R. Bakshi

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1

Geography and People

Geologists tell us that millions of years ago Northern India was a sea. The present high peaks of mountains were like an archipelogo and the Deccan was then a party of Africa. During the upheaval and subsidence of the earth's crust, the land mass several times rose and subsided as a result of the volcanic eruptions that took place frequently. At last about four million years ago the northern mountains were thrown out and Kashmir took the present form. This geophysical transformation is testified to a good extent by the fossil remains (impressions of shells, trilobites, ferns etc.) which are now found in several mountain spurs at Zewan, Khrew, Khonomoh round Srinagar the summer capital of Kashmir.

Tradition also confirms the above statement. When Sandiman (Solomon) whom God had endowed with the power of understanding the sounds of animals, asked ant what her age was, it replied :

Kaunṣarah Kausarah Samb Sarah
Sati Perih Satisar Sat Sarah

Kashmir was a lake which was called *Satisar. Sati* (Parvati) is supposed to be the daughter of Himalaya. Probably the idea is that the glacial period which now followed covered mountains with glaciers which descended through ravines into the valley and gave birth to this lake. Let us examine some of the glaciers which are seen at present embracing the high mountain peaks round the valley.

A glacier starts from the Harmoukh peak (16,872 ft.) and ends in the middle of the mountain now. During our lifetime it stretched to the shore of the Gangabal Lake; it must have filled the whole Gangabal valley descending over the Buthsher slope and Wangat valley and thence to Kachinambal and on to Prang, and thus filled the valley-lake. There is still to be seen above Butsher a river of boulders which is called Hindawendpaleza which is evidently denuded and left behind by the glacial motion. From Sonamarg side, we see today four miniature glaciers on the Thajiwas mountain peaks. They must have filled the whole Sind Valley and joined the Gangabal Glacier beyond Kangan where they must have left the medial morains and with double strength added to the volume of the water of the valley-lake.

The Kolahoi Glacier which now skirts the Kolahoi peak (17,779 ft.) and which stretches on the western side as far as the head-valley of the same name must have descended to Lidderwat, Arau and thence to Pahalgam and entered into the valley-lake beyond Sanishpor.

The eastern wing of the Kolahoi Glacier which is now high up, must have filled the Harbh the valley, scooped the lakes and then streaching towards the north to Baltal, entered the Sonmarg Glacier to add to the volume of water.

The Glaciers from Astan Marg, Pisu Hill and other parts of the valley must have joined the Kolahoi glacier at Pahalgam. Every side-valley and ravine contributed its quota towards the filling of the valley-lake. The glaciers of the Pantsál Range likewise played their part in filling the lake. Today we do not find any real glacier on this range, but there are snow-beds on the Romesh Thong, Tatakoti peak and Brahma Peaks which last throughout the year do not thaw. In the Chetskön valley the glacial action appears vivid. There are scratches on the rocks and pebbles littered about with morains all around the valley. Another branch of this glacier flowed down from Koñsar Nág valley, scooping the deep canyon worn out by the Vishau torrent, and forming the Aharbal Falls entered the lake. Similarly the mountains of the Loláb Valley which must have been covered glaciers supplied enough water to add to the storage of the lake.

There was perhaps in the beginning no trace of any tree. There were only nature's first elements like water and rock. Ice covered the surface of the valley. The pressure of the ice and thé heat of the sun squeezed water out of ice and snow which descended to the subterranian rócks and under-ground rivers flowed with great rush and gurgling noice to the lower part of the valley.

The avalanches rolling down the high peaks must have floated in the valley-lake in the form of ice-bergs whîch must have been moving backwards by the gust of wind just as we see today miniature ice-bergs floating in the high altitude lakes of Kashmir, such as Koñsar-Nág, Ailapötri and other tarns.

This must have been one of the most fascinating lakes of the world. We can understand this when we observed the charm and beauty of a high-altitude lake sitting the whole day on its shore and watching its change of colour as rays from the angular height of the sun affect the surface of the lake. The Koñsar Nág fills our mind with awe born of wonder, the Tar Sar Lake in the Lidder Valley has a soothing and serene affect while the Gangabal Lake bestows on us peace and tranquillity. This is Kashmir, the wonderland of the Himalayas.

Legend has it that Rishi Kashyap the mind-born son of Brahma, while on pilgrimage of northern India chanced to see this glorious lake. Being attracted by this beauty spot, he sought ways and means to reclaim it. He practised penances and invoked the blessings of his father Brahma and Shiva promised to satisfy his wishes. The Hindu Trinity—Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva, held a council on the Naubandan Tirtha, near Brahma Shakri peaks in the Pantsal Range which bounds the Kashmir Valley on the south and west. Vishnu called the engineer Balbhadra, the brother of Shri Krishna who with his plough made a hole in the mountain near Baramulla and the water of the lake thus ebbed down. A geologist would say that crust of the earth was weak at that spot. The three peaks are named after the gods of the Hindu Trinity and the charming lake called Koñsar Nág (Karam Saras—foot lake) or vishnu Pad, Vishnu's foot, lies at the base of this mountain. An ascent of a couple of hundred feet up the mountain reveals the shape of this lake exactly like a right foot with five toes and heel.

Naubandan Tirtha is said to be the three peaks where the gods sat for consultation, but it must be the place at the foot of Tatakoti (15,524 ft.) where, there is a spring—the source of Dud Ganga (the river of milk) which drains the Chets Kön (white stone) valley and carves a fantastic shape called Nawak. Close by there is a rock, called Nostril Rock (14,000 ft.) On the southern side of Tosamaidan there is another Nostril Rock on the same level with it. It is said that when Kashmir was a lake, the boats were moored at these rocks. This shows that the mountains were inhabited then by people who knew the art of construction of boats. It may be that Noah's Ark rested near these peaks.

Thus *Kashyap mar* (Kashyapa's abode) became Kashmir. In course of ages the gods helped in filling the valley with people. Among the leading ones was Nila Nág, 'the mind-born son of Kashyap' who lives in the spring at the foot of Banahál Pass in the Ver district, incorrectly called Ver Nag. It is said that the *Nilamat Purana* containing the rites and ceremonies which are observed now in Kashmir, came out of the spring. Performance of these ceremonies enabled the people of Kashmir permanently to settle here.

The submontane region towards the south and southwest consists of alluvial plateaux which are joined to the mountains. In fact they are the result of erosion by snow and rain wearing away the soft rocks of the Pantsál range. The mountain torrents have cut this region into several deep ravines. Many a tiny village shaded with walnut, mulberry, pear, apple, poplar and willow trees affords nesting sites for birds. The songs of these feathery denizens are melodious. The water of the streams is harnessed to the working of the flour and husking mills.

There are a number of other alluvial plateaux in various parts of the valley. These are lacustrine deposits and form a very rich soil. Whereever water is available they yield luxuriant crops. The sediment which settled down at the foot of the mountain ranges towards the North as a result of glacial action brought into existence alluvial plateaux such as, Tengalbal, Safapor, Sopor and Lolab Valleys. Just at the foot of Tengalbal (Ganderbal) near the road we see conglomerate sand, and pebbles and silt welded by a nature cement into a rock. They are undoubtedly formed by the action of water and snow covered by the alluvial soil. Some of these alluvial plateaux are irrigated by canals and thus they yield thousands of maunds of *shali*. The Pampor and Latipor plateaux yield saffron *(Crocus sativus)*. This precious herb is used in worship and preparation of dainty dishes. There is an Aerodrome on the *Damodher uder* (plateau), which is associated with an ancient legend.

There are four distinct hillocks detached from the main mountain ranges. The Poshker Teng is just near the Pantsál Range. It is sacred to the Hindus. Bhadrun, Kusha Amavasi (about September New Moon) is the day when the pilgrims having an immersion in the spring circumambulate the hillock.

The Ahateng lies on the shore of the Manasbal Lake and is detached from the Lar Range. In spring there are many skylarks soaring and singing and filling the atmosphere with their delicious song.

The Hari Parbat hill is more or less in the centre of the valley and lies on the western shore of the Dal Lake. It is sacred to the Hindus and Mohammadans. Shri Chakrapa mystic symbol along with various goddesses is worshipped here while the southern slope of the hill contains the ziarat of Maqdoom Sahib, a saint of Kashmir. The rock is the result of igneous action. There are lovely almond gardens on the hill. They provide a spot for outings for the people of the city in spring when the trees are in full bloom.

The Shankaracharia hill is detached from the Shalamar Range by the Aitagaji Gap. It is sacred to the Hindus. There is an ancient temple on the top from where a birds-eye-view of the whole valley and mountain ranges can be had. Lately the whole hills has been turned into a pleasure haunt and pines, acacias, almonds, chestnuts and many varieties of bushes and wild flowers have been planted to attract the lovers of Nature to spend their leisure hours here. At its foot, parks with catering arrangements, have been laid out and charming bowers enable lovers to enjoy their stolen pleasures. The view of the Dal Lake is magnificent. The rock is of igneous origin formed by 'very extensive submissive eruptions of lava and ashes.'

There are many lakes and swamps throughout the valley which testify that the whole valley was the bed of a most glorious lake in the world. The present high altitude lakes, Gangabal, Koñsar Nág and Tar Sar and several mountain tarns are the real beauty spots of Kashmir. Round them lie alpine flowers of opal-like colours, the blue poppy, the geum, the potentilla, the gentian and a great variety of other flowers. One of the mountaqin tarns is on the top of a mountain opposite to Apharwat (Gulmarg). There is a syncline valley between the two mountains. It is circular in shape and probably occupies the craten of an extinct volcano, or it might have been scooped by a glacier when the whole place might have been covered by glacial action. It is about 13,500 ft. above sea level. The Wular occupies the northern part of the valley. It is the largest fresh water lake in India. When winds blow from all quarters especially from Nága Marg, they change the smooth surface of the lake into dangerous waves and it becomes a sea. Boats generally cross in the morning. The Erin, Madhumati and the Bohnar enter it from the North and North-east, while the Vetasta enters it from the South. These rivers bring into the lake thousands of tons of sediment every year and it is silted up. There are many lovely spots on the shores of this lake.

Mansbal is a charming lake half way between Srinagar and Wular. It lies at the foot of a grand mountain which is bereft of vegetation. Its waters are a beautiful blue. It is about 40 ft. deep. In July and August; there is a carpet of pink lotuses on its surface. It abounds in fish. People visit it in doongas. It is said that *Soma Plant* grew in profusion round the lake from which old Aryans extracted a juice for their worship.

The Dal Lake is one of the most exquisite samples of Nature's Beauty. The reflection of the mountains in its clear waters, the islets covered with willows and poplars, the vegetative strips of floating gardens, the untidy hamlets of peasants, the chatter of water-birds, from among bushes, the melodious song of birds from chinars and other trees—all these add to the grace and charm of the lake. There are lovely gardens on its shore which attract people from various quarters. The Hazratbal, the Nasim, the Harwan, the Shalimar, the Chashmai Sháhi and Zeethair, these lovely spots are worth a visit. The Anchar Lake is about 8 miles from Srinagar on the Ganderbal road. The lake is covered with weeds and islets with willows and poplars. There are lovely clear water space in which the surrounding snow-capped mountains are reflected.

The fertile valley of Kashmir is the result of the sediment which has been deposited by the original lake. The action of snow, rain and frost and isolation on the surrounding mountains combined to form the alluvial soil. The innumerable affluents of the Vetasta bring from the mountain ranges fertile silt and deposit it in the valley. The chief backbone of the valley is the Vetasta (Jhelum). There is a proverb in Kashmir which runs thus : *Ganga snanam Vetasta dhyanam* (an immersion in the Ganga is equal to meditation on the Vetasta). It is said that when Shri Kashyapa Rishi reclaimed the Kashmir Valley, he entreated Shiva to sanctify, the place through the flow of the Ganga which resides in the plaited hair of Shiva. He agreed. Thereupon he struck his trident and out flowed the Vetasta. The place where he struck his trident is a spring just outside Nila Nág (Ver Nag). Vetasta means a span the depth of water of the spring being one span. The Birthday of Vetasta falls on 13th day of the bright fortnight of Bhadron, when Puja of the sacred river is performed and Kher (a preparation of milk and rice) is poured into the river. Just close to Vethavuthur which is the second source of the river there are seven springs of Saptha Rishis (Great Bear). For six months they remain dry, when Vasak Nág* returns, the springs also flow and the confluence of the spring water with Vethavuthur, is called Sangam where immersion takes place.

As the legend goes, the Vetasta several times refused to

Vasak Nag remains dry for winter months and in spring it flows and irrigates hundreds of acres of land which yield rich paddy.

flow through the country inhabited by pechatsas (lower forms of spirits), and disappeared but through the repeated supplications of Kashyap Ji it flowed again.

The tributaries on the left bank of the Vetasta (Jhelum) are the following :

1. The Vishau river from the Koñsar Nág Lake after cutting deep gorges (Canyons) through mountains joins it at Sangam (Confluence).

2. The Rambiará rises from the Pantsál Range and joins the Vishau at Náyun. There was once a temple at this confluence.

3. The Ramishi rises from a spring just at the foot of Romesh Thong (15,000 ft.) and from the snow-field which lies between Romesh Thong and Tatakoti peaks of the Pantsál Range and joins the Vetasta at Kakapora. There is a temple at the Sangam. It was here that Kak Basandi made penance and saw that he was delivered from his crow-body. It is also said that Shri Rama made penance here. Once there were 300 temples but these were destroyed.

4. Dudgangá rises from a spring at the foot of the Tatakoti peak and from the snow-field of the Pantsal range lying between the peaks of Romesh Thong (15,000 ft.) and Tatakoti (15,524 ft.) peaks.

5. The Sukha Nág rises from the various streamlets of Tosamaidan.

6. The Ferozpor Nallah rises from Kantar Nág and the various rivulets of the Nashakrihund Bál.

7. The Ningal rises from the Ailapötri Lake and the snows of western apharwat and enters the river above Sopor.

The tributaries from the right bank are :

1. The Sandrin, the Brangi, the Arapat rise from the various springs of Kotahar Pargana. In flood they bring devastation to that area. Their banks are littered with small pebbles. In their lower levels their banks are littered with small pebbles. In their lower levels their banks are studded with lovely orchards, watercresses, water-lilies, forget-me-nots and many other varieties

of flowers. In summer the cooing of doves, the notes of orioles and thrushes are pleasing to the ear. In winter sand pipers, red shanks, snipes and other species visit the place.

2. The waters from Kokaranag and Achabal springs join the river above Khanabal.

3. The Lidder (Lambodhari) the very important tributary rises from the snow of Kolahoi Glacier, the Tár Sar Lake, Sheshi Nág Glaciers, the Astan Marg Springs join the Vyeth just below Bijbehára.

4. Just near Pampor the waters from Arpal Nág, Wasterwan, Trál Springs fall into the river.

5. Just opposite the Secretariat the outlet from the Dal Lake, the Tsont Kol, enters into the river. The place is called Duböj.

6. The Sind the very important tributary rises from the glaciers of the Amar Náth Range and the Gangábal Lakes and joins the river at Shádipor. The place is called Praýag and is sacred to the Hindus.

7. The drainage from the Mánasbal Lake flows into the river just opposite Sumbal.

8. The Vyeth of Vetasta or Jhelum passes through the Wular Lake wherein it discharges hundreds of tons of sediment and flows out at Sopor and just below this town at Dobgáh (the place of two waters) a stream the Pohur joined with the Máwar draining the Loláb valley flow into the main river.

At Baramulla the plain stage of the Vetasta ends and the mountain stage begins.

Sanctity. There are a number of places on the banks of the Vetasta where immersions take place on sacred days by Hindus. At its source (Vethavuthur Spring) the villagers round about come to bathe on *Vyetha Truwah*—Shukla Pak Bahadron—13th day of bright fortnight August-September. They offer Khir—(a preparation of rice, milk and sugar, and offer it to the goddess.

Near Bijbehára town there are two *yarbals* (Ghats) one above the bathing place of Raja Harish Chandra, the other near the town itself which is called Dewaki Yarbal; at both these places the people bathe on holy-days.

According to the Vetasta Mahatmya it is said that Raja Harish Chandra cremated dead bodies at Wanpaush the present Wanpoh. The whole site from Wanpoh to Tsakaresh the present Tsakadhar is holy ground. If any person bathes at the Harish Chandra regularly for three days he or she would acquire *moksha* (liberation from the world).

At Bijbehára there is a ghat called Dewak yarbal where Dewak Rishi a sage had his ashram. He manifested Ganga here which is a spring in the middle of the Mahanadi (the great river) Vetasta. This portion of the flow is called Wotur Wahni (northern flow) and bathing here on the 13th day of the bright fortnight of Bhadron is meritorious.

Pururava, a king of the Dunar dynasty was crushed by a Rishi and became a woman. He bathed here and became man again.

All Sangams (confluences) which the various tributaries make with the main river are considered sacred and bathing on special occassions at these purifies body and mind.

The Romeshi joins the Vyeth at Kakapora. This confluence is called Gambira Sangama. Jayant, the son of Indra was cursed by a Rishi to become a crow. At this place Jayant became free and so the origin of Kakapora the city of crows.

The Dubji where the water of the Mar enters the Vetasta is considered holy. Here is the temple of Ananda Bairau where there is a well and the god is worshipped.

Just above Habba Kadal on the right bank there is a ghat which is called Soma Yarbal where people come to bathe on Somamavasi (when a new moon falls on a Monday).

Below the Rughunath Mandir temple there is a small ghat where people come on the Nauratri and wave candles of clarified butter (ratindip) to goddess. Tasha whose spring is supposed to be in the middle of the river. The name of the

Mohalla is Tashi Wan (Tasha's forest) where once was a forest and this goddess was worshipped.

Below Fateh Kadal on the right bank there is Kali ghat. Once there stood a temple here. An interesting mosque now stands here. It is said that inside the present mosque there is a spring covered with a stone dedicatd to Goddess Kali and water from that spring flows out. It is said that there flowed three streamlets into the Vetasta at this spot. The water from Gangakheni (the modern Gankhan and Ratanatsod Nág) flowed into the river at this spot formerly. The last two are dry now. There is a mela held here annually on the Ashtami dark fortnight of Poh.

On the right bank below Ali Kadal it is said that Shri Reshi Pir entreated Ganga when she appeared at Batayar and his old mother bathed there. At the confluence of the Chetsakol just above Safakadal on the left bank there is a sacred spot where Bhokhatkishwar Bairau is worshipped.

Shala Teng is a nice camping ground on the left bank. Shadipor lies at the junction of the Sind *(Simba-du-lion's roar)* the Mar and the Vyeth. The ancient name of the place is Shárdpor (the place of knowledge) and the spot where the ceremony in remembrane of the dead is performed is called Shrádapor. There is an island at the confluence on which stands a dwarf chinaz tree which is called Akhewat. It is said that Vishnu killed Gayasur Rakhas here and there is a stone which is called Gayashila. The place is called Prayag. The Shraddha (ceremony in remembrane of the dead) performed here has the same merit as performed at Allahabad and Gaya. There is a nice camping ground at Náran Bágh; on the left bank there is a temple dedicated to Nandikishwar a satellite of Shiva. On the right bank the Mánasbal. Lake drains into the river.

There are a number of sacred places in Báramulla. On the left bank there is a spring dedicated to goddess Sheladevi, on the right bank there is Koti Tirth (ten million tirthas), Ganganor where people bathe to gain merit on Bhadron Dwadashi, bright fortnight. On the hillock Gosain Teng there are five springs sacred to Shri Rama and his family. There is an ashram where a sadhu lives. About a mile lower down there is Kani Kojihund where there is the impression of the hoof of a cow which is worshipped.

The affluents of the Vetasta have their origin in various places. Some arise in glaciers some in snowbeds, some in springs, some from fissures in mountains, some in lakes and all flow in its main river Vetasta which on its part carves gorges, cuts rocks, drains valleys and plains and forms a delta and enters into the ocean from which is emanated and finds perennial rest. This reminds me of a verse by Shri Utpaldev Acharya :

Sarva somvet nadi bheda
Bhinna vishrama bhumaye
Namah pramatrsupushe
Shiva caitanya sindhave.

Translation

Salutations to Lord Shiva Who, so far as His form is concerned, is the universal subject of cognition, and Who, being the (infinite) ocean of consciousness, is the common support of and the common resort of rest and relaxation, for the whole diversity of all the streams of momentary cognitions.

Nila Nág which lies at the foot of the Bánahal pass is the largest spring in Kashmir and probably in India. Nila Nág is said to be the son of Kashyapa who made him the king of Kashmir Nágás. About 10 yards from the spring there is another spring of bubbling water somewhat like an artesian well where according to the puranic story Shiva struck his trident span-deep and from where the Gangá in the shape of the Vetasta took birth to sanctify Kashmir. This must have taken place before the existence of Nila Nág. It is said that the deity presiding over the spring gave to the people of Kashmir the Nilamat Purana which deals with the rites and ceremonies for spirits and gods by following which it became possible for the people of Kashmir to settle here.

At the beginning the spring was circular—'kond'. It was made into an eight sided stone basin 10 ft. deep by Emperor Jahángir in 1612. Sháh-i-Jahan laid out a garden in front of the spring and furnished it with fountains aqueducts and cascades in 1619. There is also a temple here. Lately the garden was extended and a rest house and a restaurant were added to it on one side.

There are a number of intermittent springs which are sacred and people go on pilgrimage to take an immersion (bath) in these.

Trisandhya is a spring somewhat like a segment of a circle in Brang about 4 miles from Kokár Nág. It lies on a raised spur of a mountain. It flows on Shivratri (13th day of dark fortnight in Phagan, about Febrary), and in the two months of Baisakh and Jeth (April-May) up to Nirjala Ekadashi. The spring becomes full of water and suddenly runs dry and rats come out to eat rice which pilgrims offer in worship. After an hour or so the water flows in again and the spring becomes full. This takes place several time a day. A couple of hundred yards away from the spring is a group of seven springlets Sapt Reshi (the Great Bear) the water from which meets the first stream and forms a Sangam (confluence) where pilgrims bathe. I visited the place 60 years ago and I saw water in continual flow and it did not dry up. It is called Sáma Sand. A potter's house stood then on the opposite slope of the spring.

Abu-Ul-Fazal remarked in the Aini-Akhbari 'Sundabrarcy', is an artificial contrivance of the ancients to entrap the ignorant Rudra-Sandhya is another spring of the same nature. It remains dry thoughout the year, but flows intermittently during the month of April and May. It is about a 3 hours walk from Venthavuthur-Verinag.

Pavana Sandhya is a spring 5 miles to the east of Ver Nág. Its water rises and falls like the inhaling and exhaling of a human being. It flows continuously. Pavana means air. A stream flowing from it is called the Gandaki. The people going there keep a fast for three days. It is said that there is a cave where people enter and find Ammonites (fossils) for worship.

All the above-mentioned springs have a group of sever springlets called Safta Reshi and their water, meeting with the water of the spring, form Sangam (junction) where pilgrims bathe. Vethavathur a spring about one mile and a half from Nila Nág is believed to be the second source of the Vetasta. Close by is the group of seven springlets called Safta Reshi which run dry when Vasak Nág runs dry for 6 months.

Vasak Nág is a fairly large spring about 12 miles from Ver Nág village. The spring is dedicated to Vásuk the satellite of Shiva. It flows for six months and runs dry for 6 months. A week before it begins to flow the wind blows very hard, there are rain and thunder storms, and people say, 'Vasak Nág is coming'. A fairly large stream flows out of it and irrigates a large area. As soon as the autumn irrigation of the paddy fields is over and the crops are ripe, it runs dry. A story goes that a Sadhu took Vasak Nág away in his wallet to irrigate the arid parts somewhere during winter months. The water is highly digestive. The stream flows gracefully between willow orchards and turfy banks covered with yellow buttercups, columbines and forget-me-nots.

Anantnág is the famous spring dedicated to the serpent-god Anant. There are two sulphur springs here. One is near the big spring. The other is in the town. Besides, here there are a number of springs round about. There is also a spring dedicated to goddess Khirbhawáni, in the town. It is close to the Ziarat of Reshimol Sahib.

At Kulgam there is the spring of Kula Wageshwari (Goddess of speech) which is sacred spring. This is a glorious valley. There are many interesting spots to see and nice camping sites. It is also famous for trout and local varieties of fish.

Ganga Bedi or Beda Devi is a spring on a mountain spur between Romoh and Shopian on the plateau of Shurwah near Nowgam. There is no snowfall found about the spring. It is 6 miles from robgam-kolar. It is commonly known as Beda Brör. The path goes south-west over a plateau past Barnai stream. There is a stream flowing through the forest 6 miles ahead. It is called Hamsa Wagishwari. Worship here takes place on 8-9

Chet. A road passes from Drobgam to Pir Pantsal Pass.

Manzgam. There is a spring here dedicated to Khir Bháwani. The water changes colour. People believe that in the forest there is a tree the leaves of which appear saffron-coloured but when we search for it we cannot find it.

Kapala Motsan. At Digom, in Shupiyan there is a spring which is sacred to the Hindus. People whose young children pass away, go there on Dwadashi bright fortnight of Shrawan to perform Shráda of the deceased children.

Mattan. 'There is a big spring here sacred to the Hindus. The Tirtha is known throughout India and people go there to remember their dead and perform shráda.'

(*Srinagar and its environs*)

Panzat Nág is a little inside the roadside near Larikpora villae in Anantnág district. Some say there are in it fishes blind of one eye. Its water flows into the Vetasta. Some say there are 500 Nags (springs). Every where bubbles rise.

Lokabhawan is dedicated to Mahakal (Angel of Death). It is said that Aurangzeb repaired it. There is another spring at Akahal in the Sind valley dedicated to the same deity.

Karkot Nag near Sali village is dedicated to serpent god Karkot one of the satellites of Khir Bháwani.

Gotam Nág. This spring is about 1½ mile from Anantnag. It is said that Shri Gotam Reshi performed penances for some time here. There lives a Sadhu. There is a tank where lotuses grow and the lotus roots are delicious to eat.

It is said that in the Kulgam Tehsil in the village of Razul there is a pond in which there are two logs imbedded in mud. If some untoward thing takes place these two logs come together and knock each other. About two miles across the old bridge there is a spring at the foot of a plateau whose water is highly digestive. It is called Kora Nág.

Oma's spring. In the Anantnág Tehsil there are 4 springs situated close together. The central one is large and circular. It is dedicated to goddess Oma. The other three springs are sacred to the Hindu Trinity. There lives a Sadhu family here. Some land is attached to this sacred place.

Sulphur Spring at Wuyan in Avantipor Tehsil. People go there to bathe to get rid of skin diseases.

Zavur Nág has highly digestive water.

At the foot of Khrew platéau there is a spring called Nága Nik. On the spur there is a temple where goddess Jawala is worshipped. An annual fair is held here on Ashad Shokla Chaturdeshi (about June). Children enjoy to slie on slippery stones made for the purpose of sliding.

Khir Bhawani is a wonderful spring at Tulamulla about 3 miles from Ganderbal.

Biyhama, Shahpor, Utashan. These springs contain highly digestive water. At Shahpor there is a spring dedicated to Shudashi (a form of goddess Tripura). The mantra contains 16 letters, hence the name.

Sada Malyun, Lolab Valley. There is a spring and also an ashram at this place where long ago lived very advanced souls.

Zinpur. There is an ashram here also.

Gosain Gund is another famous áshram about 3 miles from Anantnág.

Tsanda Nág is Lolab where goddess Tsandi is worshipped. The name of the village is Tsandágam.

At Baramulla on the left bank of the Vetasa there is a spring sacred to Goddess Shaila Putri. There is a lately built temple in the centre of the city. Just opposite this spring on the right bank is Ganganor where water flows down from the mountain. On the hillock called Gosain Teng there are four springs called Ramkund, Sitakund and so on. There is an ashram where some Sadhus live.

Tatapani. There is a hot spring in Wardwan. There people go to bathe to get rid of rheumatism and various skin diseases.

Naudal springs (nine petals). About 6 miles from Awantipor there is a group of springs where people go to bathe on Bhadron Chatushti 4th day of dark fortnight of the month of Bhadron (about August). They perform shráda (remember their dead) here.

Tral. About two miles from here on a promontary there are a number or springs some of which are highly praised for their sweet water and held sacred. This place is also known for honey and almonds. Close by is a lovely spot called Shikargah which is a game reserve where bears, antelopes, Chukors and sometimes panther are found.

There are a number of hot springs in Ladakh also.

Anantnág. It is an important centre of trade for the southern district. It is the civil headquarters of the district. The origin of the name is traceable to the spring which is called Anant a satellite of Shiva.

Shopyian. It lies at the foot of Pir Pantsál Pass. It is famous for apples.

Bijbehara. Popularly known as Vijbror is on the left bank of the Vetasta. Probably the town lies on the stones and debris of the ancient demolished temples, hence the place is higher than the surrounding area. It is famous for woodwork especially lattice-windows.

The town was founded by King Vijaya (114-106 B.C.).

Pampor. It lies at the foot of the alluvial plateau of the same name. The plateau yields saffron. The Government of India has started a centre for village hom industries here. Woollen blankets and puttoes are produced. There is also a Government Joinery Mill here. The town was founded by Padma the Minister of Ajatapida 812-849 A.D.

Srinagar. It is the chief town of the valley and becomes a cosmopolitan city in summer. It is rapidly spreading on all sides. It is the summer capital of the state of Jammu and Kashmir. It was founded by Parvarsen II the pious king of Kashmir who reigned 79-139 A.D. It stands on both the banks of the Vetasta.

Sopor. It is 34 miles from Srinagar on the shores of the Wular Lake. It is commercially very important. It was founded by Suya the engineer of Avantivarman (855-883). Behind it is Lolab, a delightful valley.

Baramulla. During the tribal Kabali invasion of 1947 the town was sacked, its bazar burnt and houses reduced to ashes; men, women and children were maltreated and many killed and many plundered. Due to the division of India its importance has been reduced to a great extent.

It is being rebuilt now, and is a good business centre.

Bandipor. It is an important town at the foot of Tragabal pass (11,100 ft.). It is commercially very important. It stands on the eastern shore of the Wular Lake. It is famous for woollen blankets. Around it are many lovely valleys.

II

The country to be now described forms the basin of the upper waters of the Yárkand River, lying between the Mustágh Mountains on the south and the western Kuenlun Mountains on the north, and extending from the Tágh-dúm-básh Pámir on the west to the Kárákoram Pass on the east. The whole of this tract is a vast mass of lofty mountains, and even the lowest valley-bottoms are situated at a very considerable altitude above the sealevel. With the exception of a few Kirghiz on the Tágh-dúm-básh Pámir and at Sháhidúla, it is entirely unpopulated, and, owing to its extreme elevation and the rigour of the climate, is, except in a few places along the Yárkand River, uncultivable. The mountain summits are covered with perpetual snow, and their sides—sometimes rocky precipices and sometimes steep slopes of shale and débris—are always utterly devoid of vegetation; so that in the whole of this tract not a single tree is to be seen on the mountain-sides, and even in the valley-bottoms only in a few places in the lowest part of Raskam.

The two principal ranges of mountains are the Mustágh and the Kuenlun, and from the former two subsidiary ranges branch off. The first, which may be called the Aghil range, after the Aghil Pass, which crosses it, strikes off in a north-westerly direction from a point a few miles westward of the Kárákoram Pass, and divides the largest branch of the Yárkand River from its principal tributary the Oprang River. The other subsidiary range runs out from the neighbourhood of the Khúnjeráb Pass in a north direction to Sarikol.

The range of mountains which forms the watershed of the Indus River system, though the natives of the country have no name for it, is generally called by us the Hindu Kush in the western portion; and either the Mústágh or Kárákoram Mountains in the eastern part. Kárákoram means black gravel, a name applied by natives to the pass on the road between Leh and Yárkand. Mústágh, on the other hand, means ice-mountains, and is a far more appropriate name for the loftiest range of mountains in the world; so, in this report, I will refer to the portion of the Indus watershed extending from the bend of the Hindu Kush Mountains to the Kárákoram Pass as the Mústágh Mountains. This range runs in a general direction from W.N.W. to E.S.E.; its highest point is reached in the vicinity of the Mústágh Pass, where one peak (K 2) rises to the stupendous height of 28,278 feet, and is the second highest mountain in the world, Mount Everest only exceeding it. Four other peaks are over 26,000 feet, and it may probably be said that hardly a peak on the main axis of the range is under 20,000 feet. With mountains of such enormous height there is naturally a vast extent of glaciers, and these are found in greatest extent between the head-waters of the Oprang River and the vicinity of the Shimshál Pass. Here, on both sides of the range, may be seen vast seas of ice filling up the valley-bottoms. Perhaps the largest glacier on the northern side is that running down in an easterly direction near Suget Jangal; this is some 24 miles long and about 2 miles broad, but it is surpassed by the great Baltoro glacier on the southern side of the Mústágh Pass, when is 38 miles in length and from 4 to 5 miles broad. These glaciers extend down on the northern side to a height of from 12,000 to 13,000 feet above sea-level, but on the southern side reach considerably lower, and at Askole in Báltistán one reaches as low down as 10,000 feet and at

Pású in Hunza even to 9,000 feet. On the southern side certainly they are on the advance, and the mass of ice in these regions appears to be gradually accumulating and closing up the passes. Thirty or forty years ago men used frequently to cross the Mústágh and Sáltoro Passes, whereas now such a thing is never heard of. As a general rule it may be taken that the slopes on the southern side are greater and the valleys deeper than on the northern side, and this I should attribute to the greater proportion of rain and snow-fall to the south, which washes out the valleys and eats away the mountain-sides. At a former period the whole region must have been more glacial than it is now; the glaciers gradually melted as the warmer climate came on, and the valleys were left filled with the moraine which these had collected from the mountain-sides. On the Pámir and near the Kárákoram Pass, we see what must have formerly been deep valleys now filled up almost to the brim with this dbris, and so plains are found between two ranges of mountains; then, as a warmer climate came in, the snow melted more rapidly and for a longer time during summer, and the valleys were gradually washed out again by the streams which were formed, and on the southern side of the great range, which would naturally catch more of the monsoon, and which would also attract more of the rays of the sun, there are larger streams, and the valleys have been washed out sooner. Now it would almost appear that we are gradually going back again to another period of glaciers, and that, if the glaciers advance as they at present seem to be doing on the southern side, the deep valleys of Báltistán and Hunza may, in geological ages yet to come, again be filled up.

The heights of the passes across this range vary considerably. The Kárákoram Pass is 18,550 feet, and the Mústágh and Sáltoro Passes are at least as lofty, if not more so; but west of these we met with extraordinary depressions in the range, and the Shimshál, the Khúnjeráb, and Mintaka Passes are all between 14,300 and 14,700 feet. At the Shimshál Pass we came across a very remarkable change in the character of the range, for, whereas to the east the mountains, besides being very lofty are also noticeable for their bold and rugged outline, they here suddenly drop down to a wide depression, forming a small plain on which two lakes are situated actually on the watershed, at an elevation of only 14,700 feet above sea-level; and beyond this, to the westward, the peaks of the range, though still very lofty, lose their abrupt and bold appearance and become more tame and round, though, curiously enough, the spurs which run out to the south retain the rugged appearance which is the characteristic of the Mústágh Mountains.

The range to the north of the tract now under consideration is known to European and Chinese geographers by the name of Kuenlun Mountains; it is a range of lesser height than the Mústágh Mountains; the highest peaks rising certainly not over 23,000 feet. It is characterised by the bold and rugged appearance or the peaks; its southern declivities are broken up into short transverse valleys, and on the northern side it throws out a series of long spurs running out towards Kilian and Yárkand. The mountain-sides are perfectly bare, but along the bed of the streams in the northern side, good stretches of jungle are often met with. The principal passes across this range are the Sanju (16,650 feet), the Kilian (17,800 feet), the Kilik (17,000 ?), the Yangi (16,000), the Chiragsáldi (16,000 ?), Tashkurgan, Isak, and the Kokalung. The first three of these are all steep and difficult passes. The Yangi and Chiragsáldi are fairly easy, and of the last three named nothing is known except that it is said that ponies may be taken across them.

The Aghil range runs in a general north-west direction between the two ranges already described. It is about 120 miles in length, and is broken up into a series of bold, upstanding peaks, rising to a height of about 23,000 feet; near its junction with the Mústágh Mountains there are some large glaciers, which are found in the valleys of the Mústágh Mountains. But on the westward these *mers-de-glace* are not seen, and only the smaller kind of glaciers are found on the higher slopes. The Aghil range is utterly devoid of vegetation, and only the scantiest description of scrub is met with in the valley-bottoms. The only known pass across this range is the Aghil Pass (15,300 feet), a remarkably easy one, being a Pámir-like depression between lofty rocky mountains.

The Kurbu range, which runs out from the Mústágh Mountains in a northerly direction from a point near the Khúnjeráb Pass, differs in character from the mountains just described, for its summits and slopes are more rounded, and the heighest peaks dc not rise above a height of probably about 20,000 feet. No trees are seen on the slopes, but grass is plentiful on the lower portions on the western side, and in the shallow vallyes which run down towards the Tágh-dúm-básh Pámir. These shallow valleys on the western side form a strong contrast to the deep narrow gorges which run down from the range on the eastern side into the valley of the Yárkand River. In the eastern valleys trees are found in fair quantities, and the valley of the Túng River especially is remarkable for its fertility.

Turning now to the rivers, the whole of the tract is drained by a number of streams, which, flowing together, form the Yarkand River. The largest branch has its rise at a spot discovered by Hayward near the Kárákoram Pass, and from there it flows in a northerly direction to Kirghiz Jangal, when it sweeps round almost at right angles in a general westerly direction to near Chong Jangal, where it receives the Oprang River, a stream of almost twice its volume though not so great in length. From Chong Jangal the river turns in a north-westerly direction to the junction of the Ilisu River, and then it passes through a number of impassable gorges, and flows in a north-easterly direction towards the plains of Turkestán, and is eventually buried in the sands of the Gobi desert and in Lake Lob-nor. A portion of the valley of this river between Kirghiz Jangal and the junction of the Ilisu River is known to the Kirghiz by the name of Raskam, and the river itself is often called the Ṛaskam darya. In this portion, especially in the western part, good stretches of grass and jungle are seen, and below Chong Jangal trees, too, are met with, where possibly the land used in former times to be cultivated and fruit trees growth. The mountain slopes, however, are quite bare, and are generally in the form of long slopes of shale and débris, though at some parts they close in and form steep rocky gorges. The depth and volume of this river vary very considerably according to the season of the year. In the summer months, even in its upper course, it is quite unfordable, but by the middle of September it can be forded as low down as Chong Jangal, and by the middle of October as far as the Ilisu River. In the eastern portion of Raskam it flows over a wide pebbly bed sometimes a mile in width, while the stream itself in September was from 30 to 40 yards broad, with a depth of 2 or 3 feet. After the junction of the Oprang River the stream becomes very considerable, and even at the end of October I found it to be some 40 yards wide, with a depth of from 3½ to 4 feet; and lower down, near the junction of the Túng River, it becomes quite unfordable, and has to be crossed by means of rafts. Its principle tributaries in the region now being described are, on the north, the Bazar Darra River, and on the south the Kanbaskan, the Surukwát, the Oprang, the Uruk, and the Ilisu Rivers : all of these are quite insignificant except the Oprang River, which, as has been before stated, is in volume double the size of the longer branch of the Yárkand River.

The Oprang River receives the entire drainage of the vast glacier region on the northern slopes of the Mústágh Mountains rising amongst these in about latitude 35° 40′, longitude 77° 40′, issuing from an immense glacier. After receiving the waters of the other glaciers flowing down from the Sáltoro Pass, the Gusherbrum peaks and the great peak K 2, it flows in a north-westerly direction towards the Aghil Pass, and then westward to the junction of the Sarpolaggo River, which is formed by the waters flowing from the glaciers in the region near the Mústágh Pass; then it turns north-west again, receives the stream flowing from the neighbourhood of the Shimshál Pass, and near Shor-bulák it makes a remarkable turn back, winding considerably, and finally flowing into the Yárkand River some 4 miles above Chong Jangal. Its total length is about 130 miles; its depth and volume, as is naturally the case in a stream entirely formed from the melting of glaciers vary very much according to the season of the year, but even in its upper portion near its source I have found it in the middle of September to be 2½ to 3 feet deep and about 40 yards wide, while in the middle of October near its junction with the Yárkand River it was some 4 feet deep.

The valley-bottom of the Oprang River is generally of considerable width, varying from half a mile to one mile; it is flat, and covered with pebbles, with patches of grass and precipitous, and they are quite impracticable for animals, but men can sometimes find a path along them. The most considerable tributary of the Oprang River is the Sarpolaggo stream flowing down from the Mústágh Pass and draining the great glacier region in that neighbourhood. Next to this is the Af-di-gar River, which is of importance as the route to the Shimshál Valley leads up it, and a Kanjúti outpost is situated some 6 miles from its junction with the Oprang River. In the valley of this stream there are considerable patches of good grass and jungle, and it is at times inhabited by Kanjútis; it rises in a large glacier on the borders of the Báltistán, but twenty of their men were lost in crevasses. Another tributary of the Oprang River is a stream which flows down from the Oprang River is a stream which flows down from the Oprang Pass on the Tágh-dúm-básh Pámir, and joins the Oprang River at the camping ground of Shor-bulák. There is said to have been a road up this valley, but, owing to landslips, it has now fallen into disuse.

The climate of this region is one of great severity. At the western end of Raskam, at a height of 9,000 feet above the sea, the thermometer, even in the middle of October, fell to—4° Fahrenheit, and in the depth of winter it must, of course, be considerably below this, while in the higher regions the cold must be very intense. On the Tágh-dúm-básh Pámir, although the weather seemed to be very much colder, on account of the bitter wind which blew continuously, the thrmometer did not fall in the beginning of November below—5° Fahrenheit, though, at the same time, in the sun in the middle of the day I have seen the thermometer marking 11°, the rays of the sun being, as it were, blown away by the cold blast of the wind. These winds, which one meets with in these regions, deserve some notice, for they not only affect the personal comfort of the traveller very much, but also have a considerable effect upon the surrounding country, for the whole region being composed of lofty mountains and deep valleys, there is constant passage of air between the warmer regions of the valleys below and the colder regions of the glaciers and ice-peaks above; as the day warms up, terrific winds are often encountered in the valleys, while on the passes the wind rushes along as through a funnel : it is often difficult indeed to stand up against it. With this wind large bodies of sand are driven along in the valley-bottoms and deposited on the mountain-sides. A curious phenomenon, too, is seen as the result of this high wind on the mountains. The summits appear to be, as it were, consuming away, vanishing into light mist; and this is caused by the strong wind blowing away the fine dust-like snow at the summits in great clouds, and thus producing the effect mentioned. This phenomenon must, however, be distinguished from what are called mountain streamers, which consist of long, thin clouds, streaming away in a horizontal direction from the summit of a peak; this is only seen when there is considerable moisture in the air, and is probably caused by the warm moisture-laden air from the plains rushing upwards, and, on coming in contact with the cold icy peaks, condensing into cloud. There is no information as to the condition of this region in summer, but the valley of the Yárkand River is certainly warm enough to allow cultivation, and fuit trees are met with at the western end of Raskam.

The vegetable productions of any useful description from this region are almost *nil,* a small amount of timber, generally a description of birch or poplar, being the only thing obtainable, besides jungle, scrub, and coarse grass.

As regards the mineral productions, the name of the country Raskam (Rás-kám, a real mine) would lead one to suppose that these were very considerable, but in a hurried visit to a country it is impossible to bring back any reliable data upon such a point. Remains of furnaces used by former inhabitants are very frequently met with. Gold, iron, copper, and lead are said to be found in the valley of the Yárkand River.

The animal productions are as deficient as the other natural productions. The wild ass known as the *kulan* or *kyang* are frequently seen in small herds or singly, and they are very useful to the travellers on account of the tracks which they form in these otherwise pathless mountains. Besides these the only other wild game one meets with in the Mústágh Mountains are the *shapoo*, but, on the Tágh-dúm-básh Pámir the manificent wild sheep known as the *ovis poli* is common. The Kirghiz keep large flocks of sheep and goats, and also a fair number of camels, yaks, and ponies. In the neighbourhood of Sháhidúla there may be between 30 to 40 camels and 50 or 60 ponies, and perhaps the same number of yaks. On the Tágh-dúm-básh Pámir there are probably not more than about 20 camels, 30 or 40 yaks, and 60 ponies; but the number of sheep and goats on the Tágh-dúm-básh Pámir will probably be as much as 6 or 800.

The country described above is for the most part a "no-man's land," and to lay down any particular boundaries is at present very difficult. The Tágh-dúm-básh Pámir undisputably belongs to China, and therefore the Mústágh Mountains here form a definite boundary between the countries under our influence and those under the authority of China. But further east the Chinese have never asserted an authority over the valley of the Yárkand River, and it is only this year that they have asserted any definite authority over the Sháhidúla district, the limits of their jurisdiction for all practical purposes having hitherto been the Kuenlun range, with frontier posts at Kugiar, Kilian, and Sanjú. In their former occupation of Turkestán, the Chinese certainly made no pretensions to any authority on the southern side of the Kuenlun Mountains, and the Máhárájá built and for some years occupied the fort at Sháhidúla. When, however, Yakúb Beg came into possession of Eastern Turkestán, he occupied Sháhidúla, and his troops held it till they were obliged to retire on the reconquest of Yárkand by the Chinese. Since then, till the present year, it has been left unoccupied, but the Kirghiz in the neighbourhood paid taxes to, and acknowledged the authority of, the Chinese. Now, according to the latest information, the Chinese have stationed a guard at Sháhidúla, and have therefore definitely set up a claim to that place.

If this claim is acknowledged, the frontier between Kashmir and Chinese Turkestán will have to be drawn somewhere to the south, and the choice of two lines is offered. The first of these would run along the spur from the Kuenlun range which is crossed by the Suget and Sokh-Bulák Passes, and would continue along the crest of the Kuenlun Mountains to their western extremity, and then, crossing the Yárkand River below the junction of the Ilisu, strike the Kurbu range near the Kurbu Pass, and run along it till it met the Mústágh Mountains east of the Khúnjeráb Pass. Such a line has little to recommend it, except that it includes the district of Raskam, in the valley of the Yárkand River, which, sooner than allow the Russians to gain a footing there, it would be advisable for us to occupy, if we cannot induce the Chinese to recognise it as theirs.

The alternative line would run the whole way along the crest of the Mústágh Mountains, through the Kárákoram, Shnshál, and Khúnjeráb Passes to the Kilik, where it would join the Hindu Kush. This is the natural and probably the best boundary, for it follows, throughout, the great Indus watershed dividing the waters of India from those of Central Asia.

Between the two lines detailed above, there is the one which is laid down as the boundary of Kashmir on our official maps; this follows the course of the Yárkand River. But such a line is an impracticable one, for the river is fordable, and the road crosses frequently from side to side, and therefore the frontier line to be of any use must follow the mountain crests on one side or the other. It may be advisable, however, to run the line from the Kárákoram Pass north-east through the Kárátágh Pass, to the bend of the Kárákásh River, and thus include, as at present laid down on our maps, the Lingzi-thang plains, up to the eastern Kuenlun Mountains. This tract of country has no practical importance, as the plains are uninhabited and uninhabitable, but it may possibly be gratifying to the Máhárájá of Kashmir to feel himself in possession of so many extra square miles of country.

III

1. The north of Kashmir is bounded by a stupendous mass

of mountains, culminating in the great range which divides the waters which flow to India from those which take their way towards Central Asia, and which is variously known in different parts as the Hindu Kush, the Mústágh, and the Kárákoram Mountains. The portion of the range known as the Hindu Kush was examined by Colonel Lockhart's Mission, and has been reported on by him. The eastern portion, known as the Mústágh Mountains, will now be dealt with. This may be said to extend from the Kilik Pass (in latitude 37°, longitude 75°) to the Kárákoram Pass, on the routh from Leh to Yárkand, and a full description of it will be found on page 92.

2. Across this range of mountains there are the following passes :

(1) Kárákoram Pass (18,500 feet), easy and practicable all the year round for ponies and camels.

(2) Sáltoro Pass, now disused and quite impracticable.

(3) Mustágh Passes, ditto ditto.

(4) Shimshál or Shingshál Pass (14,700 feet); easy and practicable for ponies.

(5) Khúnjeráb Pass (14,300 feet), easy and practicable for ponies.

(6) Mintaka Pass (14,400 feet), practicable for ponies.

Between the Kárákoram Pass and the Shimshál there is an immense region of glaciers, which makes the country quite impracticable for the passage of troops, though in former days parties of men used to cross the range by the Sáltoro and Mústágh Passes into Báltistán. Now-a-days, however, there is no way by which an army could penetrate into Báltistán across the main range, and the next pass westward is the Shimshál, leading into Hunza; this and the Khúnjeráb and Mintaka, which also lead into the valley of the Hunza River, are practicable for laden ponies.

The main range of the Mústágh Mountains can therefore be crossed at four points into Leh and Hunza without much difficulty, but the value of a chain must be tested by that of the weakest link, and in this case the value of the various routes leading towards Kashmir must be tested, not by the practicability of the actual crossings of the Mústágh Mountains, but by the character of the country on the southern side, which fortunately for us is of an extremely difficult character, so that, although the Mústágh Mountains may be crossed comparatively easily, an invading army would find it well high impossible to force its way though the gorges of Hunza, or the deep valleys leading into Ladakh, if resolutely opposed by even a small force.

But although it is unlikely that the Russians would seriously invade Kashmir by either of these lines, it is highly probably that they may attempt to make a demonstration with a small force on Ladakh or Hunza with a view to paralysing our efforts in other directions, and one may show by what routes they would be most likely to reach these frontier passes, the difficulties they would have to contend with on the way, and the probably chances of success. The cantonment in Russian Turkestán nearest to our northern frontier is that of Osh, from which place a column of 2,500 men with six guns actually set out in 1878 towards our frontier. This cantonment is, however, 204 miles from the furthest limit of Russian territory at the Tuyuksu Pass from which a practicable route for animals leads over the Pámirs, up the valley of the Aksu River; and by Aktásh to either Wakhán or, by the Baiyik Pass, to the Tágh-dúm-básh Pámir. From Wakhán, Chitrál or Gilgit may be reached by the Baroghil route as related by Colonel Lockhart. From the Tágh-dúm-básh Pámir, Hunza may be invaded by either the Kilik, the Mintaka, or Khúnjeráb Passes, or a force might march from the Tágh-dúm-básh Pámir by the valley of the Yárkand River to the Kárákoram Pass by a route practicable throughout for ponies and camels.[1]

The above routes have been taken with Osh as their base, but it is probable that, even if the Russians do not occupy Kashgar and Yárkand, they will use these towns as bases for supplies for the forces operating from Osh, and it is therefore necessary to show what routes lead from those places towards Kashmir. From Kashgar the Tágh-dúm-báse Pámir may be reached in to marches by the somewhat difficult route of the Gez defile; it is generally practicable for ponies, but in the summer months is liable to floods from the rain and melting snow. From Yárkand, Táshkurgán at the head of the Tágh-dúm-báse Pámir may be reached by the Ighizyar route in 12 marches; this is the best road, and is in general use by traders between Yárkand and Badakshán. A second route, also practicable for ponies, but more difficult and less frequented, is that by Kuserab; while a third, which is only practicable for men on foot, and which is rarely used, leads by the valley of the Tung River.

To the Kárákoram Pass on the road to Leh four routes practicable for ponies lead from Yárkand, *viz.* :

(1) By Kugiar and the Yangi Dawán. This is the best route in the winter, but between the months of April and September is impassable on account of the increased depth of the rivers, through the melting of the snow.

(2) By the Kilik Pass, not now in use, but can be made practicable for ponies.

(3) By the Kilian Pass and Sháhidúla, the route now in use by traders. The Pass is a very difficult one, 17,800 feet high and very steep, but laden ponies can be taken over it.

(4) By the Sánju Pass, also a difficult one, but in common use.

It has been thought, however, by many people that the passage of the Pámirs would be a serious obstacle to an invading force. The route from Osh by the Tuyuksu Pass over the Pámirs certainly leads across high passes and elevated plateaux, but an army would in this part in all probability be quite unopposed, and the physical difficulties of the route are really not very great for the country on the northern side of the main range is much easier in character than that on the soute side. There is indeed the risk of snow and great cold, but Russian soldiers, who even in time of peace have been marched in January and February across the steppes from

Orenberg to Tashkend, would not think much of this, and the Russian officers on the Afghan Boundary Commission told our officers that cold would never prevent active operations on their part. If the autumn months were chosen, they would find little or no snow, and they would arrive on the frontier when the rivers were at their lowest and the country to the south of the range easiest. The difficulties of the route, and those usually ascribed to the Pámirs on account of their elevated character have therefore probably been too much exaggerated; and with regard to supplies, although no crops are grown in these elevated regions, and supplies of grain are unprocurable, yet large flocks of sheep, goats, and yaks and kept by the Khirghiz who live in these parts, and for a short time, at any rate, or with perhaps a limited supply of flour brought down from Yárkand or Kashgar, the force might support itself in a march across the Pámirs; for Russian soldiers are not particular what they eat, and last year I found Captain Grombtchevsky feeding his Cossacks almost entirely upon mutton, driving along a large flock of sheep with him, and for a period of three months they only had 80th of flour for 12 men. Fuel is somewhat scarce on the Pámirs, but sufficient quantities of scrub and dried dung for cooking purposes could always be obtained.

From the Tágh-dúm-básh Pámir no supplies on the route of Ladakh are at present obtainable, until after the Kárákoram and Saser Passes have been crossed, and the Nubra Valley reached; but in future years, as has been before stated, the valley of the Yárkand River may again become populated and cultivated, and supplies may therefore be forthcoming. At present a force operating by this line would have to obtain its supplies from Yárkand and Kugiar, and it is probably that a General would only adopt this line of advance in the case of its being desirable to avoid passing through the garrisoned parts of Chinese Turkestán.

Premising, therefore, that it is perfectly feasible for a force of, say, 2,500 men, with 6 guns (the strength of the force which left Margilán in 1878 for the Pámir) to reach the northern slopes of the Mústágh Mountains, let us examine what would be its next movements, and what measures on our part would be necessary for checking its advance into Kashmir and Leh are the only two points open to attack, and that the advance of any force upon Skardú is quite impracticable. Dealing first with the advance upon Gilgit, the easiest points of approach are the Kilik and Mintaka Passes, which are 12 marches distant from Gilgit. In the summer and autumn these passes can be crossed without difficulty, but once in the valley of the Hunza River very serious difficulties would be met with. The valley is in many places only a few hundred yards broad, and is bounded by precipitous cliffs of enormous height, and so steep and rugged that they quite preclude the idea of any flanking parties being able to march along them. The river itself in the summer months is quite unfordable, and the only path down the valley in that season of the year leads by rocky staircases and narrow flanks supported on the sides of the clifs. In the late autumn about the end of October the melting of the snow has ceased, and the river becomes fordable in many places, and at the time when one passes through in the middle of November it might be possible for a force to march down this valley, but even then the difficulties would be great, and to delay aforce very considerably would be an easy matter, and the position of a commander shut up in a deep valley, with few supplies obtainable, with the winter snows closing the passes behind him, and a difficult route in front of him, would not be an enviable one.

We will turn now to the other line of advance—that by the Kárákoram Pass on Leh. The Pass itself can be crossed without difficulty, but here again the intricate character of the country on this side of the range would be the chief obstacle to an enemy's advance. Between the Kárákoram Pass and the Shayok River, the road, after crossing the Depsang plains, passes through some narrow deep gorges, where it would be very easy to check the advance of an army. But supposing these defiles were forced, the next obstacle an enemy would meet with would be the shayok River, at the north foot of the Saser Pass; this river is never fordable, and there are no boats or trees in the neighbourhood with which to make boats. The next obstacle would be the passage of the Saser Pass, 17,800 feet high, with a large glacier on its summit; and then the passage of the Kárãwal Pass, 15,000 feet, the ascent on both sides of which consists of steep, difficult zig-zags. Having surmounted all these obstacles, the enemy would at last find himself in an inhabited country in the valley of the Nubra River, but he would not yet have reached Leh, and would still have a second passage of the Shayok River, and the difficult Khardung Pass, 17,500 feet high, with a glacier on its summit, to get over before he arrived at his destination. Then after all his trouble he would only find himself in a country which, under the best of circumstances; could afford but scanty provision for an army, and to an invader need afford none at all, white Kashmir would still be distant, and the invading army would have to force a passage of the Indus, fight its way through many difficult gorges and over rapid mountain torrents, and cross the Zoji-la Pass before the Happy Valley was at length reached.

So, although a small force might without any great difficulty present itself close up to our northern frontier, yet the difficulties it would have to contend with on the southern side of the main range would be so great that it would probably be unnecessary to make any elaborate preparation, or detach any of our regular army to oppose an invading force, and the only measures which would seem to be necessary for securing the portion of our frontier dealt with in this report are first to establish a firm control over the Hunza Rájá, so as to ensure that no enemy would be left unopposed by the people of Hunza, and, second, to have a small reliable force of Kashmir reorganised troops at Leh, and suitable positions selected for opposing an invader between the place and the Kárákoram Pass. With such measures effectively carried out it would probably be imposible for an enemy to gain a footing on this side of the main range, or even if he did, to maintain himself there for any length of time; and though the presence of a Russian force on our frontier would undoubtedly cause considerable excitement in Kashmir at first, and embarrass us to some degree, yet we may bear in mind that the further the invaders advanced the greater their difficulties would become, and any one who has visited the country can easily conceive a position in which the invading army would find itself unable to force some well-defended position in front, unable to stay where it was on account of scarcity of provisions, and only able to retreat through some defile or across a river—a proceeding which, in the face of an enemy, would be attended by the utmost danger.

2

Communications

Route I

Sháhidúla to the Shimshál Pass.

194 miles; 13 marches.

Road particable generally for laden animals, but impassable during the summer months, up till the end of August, on account of the depth of the Yárkand River. No supplies obtainable; grass scarce and bad; fuel fairly plentiful.

1. Sháhidúla to Thar

14 miles 4 furlongs, 6½ hours.

Road good and practicable even for guns. Up the Khálchuskún strea; grass plentiful and good the whole way; brushwood plentiful in the lower part, scarce higher up.

8-30.—Leaves Sháhidúla ascending open pebbly valley, 400 to 600 yards wide; stream 2½ feet deep, 15 yards wide.

9-10.—Patch of gass and jungle.

9-25.—Large strip of grass and jungle stretching down river.

9-35.—Cross stream.

9-55.—Patch of good grass and jungle.

10-0.—Cross gravel plain ½ mile wide. A path joins in here from Suget over a low pass.

11-10.—Descend 50 feet into bed of stream again; brushwood and grass along course of stream.

Khál-chuskún, a plain covered with soda efflorescence and grass.

11-35.—Kárchin-jilga. Grass and brushwood. Road continues up the valley.

3-0.—Tár. Grass plentiful and good; fuel scarce, but obtainable.

2. Tár to Kirghiz Jangal

22 miles, 10 hours 50 minutes; from Shahidula 36½ miles.

Road bad for 1½ miles; then good up to Sokh-bulák Pass; then bad again to Yárkand River. Grass and fuel very scarce on road, but obtainable in small quantity in ravine leading down to Yárkand River, and in plenty at Kirghiz Jangal.

7-20.—Leave Tár. Road leads up valley, here narrowed to 300 yards, bounded by rocky mountains. Road stony and bad. At 1½ miles leave stony bed of stream, and keep along smooth muddy side of hill (left bank) for 1 mile; then cross Kuksin stream, 5 yards broad, and another.

9-25.—Stretch of stone. At 4½ miles is junction of Sokh-bulák stream, up which is a road to the Suget Pass. The Khál-Chuskún stream here flows over a pebbly bed 250 to 300 yards wide.

10-5.—Sokh-bulák camping ground. Grass plentiful; no fuel. Valley ½ mile wide. Road now good over an earth and gravel slope on left bank of stream.

12-15.—Descend gradually into bed of stream again, here pebbly, 120 yards broad.

1-10.—Leave bed of Khál-chuskún stream, and ascend a small ravine for ¾ mile to the summit of the Sokh-bulák Pass (17,093 feet). (Halt 20 minutes.)

Ascent to pass gradual and easy; descent very steep for

600 yards, down side of mountain, to bed of a nullah, which road now descends for 8 miles to its junction with the Yárkand River. Bed of nullah covered with débris and boulders, and going, therefore, difficult. Grass and fuel scarce, but found here and there.

5-0.—Bed of Yárkand River, level pebbly, 600 yards wide. River 30 yards wide, 3 feet deep; cross river twice.

6-10.—Kirghiz Jangal. Fuel plentiful; grass rather scarce. Bed of river is here ¾ mile wide.

From here a route leads up the valley of the Yárkand River to Aktágh and the Kárákoram Pass—see Yárkand Mission Report.

3. Kirghiz Jangal to Kulanúldi

11 miles, 6¼ hours; from Shábidúla 47½ miles.

Road good, following down bed of the Yárkand River, which is crossed four times; depth 2½ feet. Fuel plentiful the whole way. Grass at Saskbulák (8 miles), and at Kulanúldí. Valley of the Yárkand River generally about half a mile broad. Lower part of mountain-sides shingle slopes; higher up, rocky precipices.

4. Kulandúldi to Chirágh-Sáldi

18 miles; from shábidúla 65½ miles.

Continue down the pebbly bed of the Yárkand River, from ¾ to 1 mile wide; crossing stream ten times; depth 2½ feet. At 6 miles camping ground of Toka-nák, from which the route to Yárkand by Kugiar leads over the Yángi Pass. This is during the late autumn and up to March the best route from the Kárákoram Pass to Yárkand; 4¼ miles from Tokanák is a patch of good grass, called Bulák Báshi, and a mile beyond this a stream called the Kánbaskán, 15 yards broad by 1 foot to 1½ feet deep, flows in from the south. At Chirágh-sáldí fuel and grass are plentiful, and from here a route leads over the Chirágh-sáldí Pass, joining in with that by the Yángi Pass to Yárkand, a few miles to the north of the latter pass. (For description of this route see Colonel Bell's Report on China, Vol. II, page 569.)

5. Chirágh-Sáldi to Igar-Sáldi

13 miles; from Shábidúla 78½ miles.

Still descend the valley of the Yárkand River; at 2¼ miles stream from the north; at 6½ miles another stream from the north, up which a difficult track leads to Pákh-Púlú. Beyond this the road crosses over the end of spur running down from the north, and at 8 miles ascends on to a fine patch of grass and jungle called Urdok-sáldi. Pass over this for ¼ of a mile, then over a mass of boulders; at 2¼ miles from Urdok-sáldí cross a plain with remains of houses on it, formerly occupied by Kirgiz, called Káráshtarim, 3¼ miles long by 600 yards broad. At 12¼ miles a path leads by steep zig-zag over a spur to the camping ground of Igar-sáldí; this path is only practicable for men on foot, and ponies have to be taken round the spur for a mile, crossing the river twice. At Igar-sáldí grass and fuel are plentiful; it is a camping ground situated in a gorge, the valley of the Yárkand River having narrowed to a width of 300 to 400 yards, with lofty, precipitous sides.

6. Igar-Sáldí to Surukwát

11 miles; from Shábidúla 89½ miles.

Still follow down the valley of the Yárkand River. Immediately on leaving Igar-sáldí the river has to be crossed four times to round a cliff; 3¾ of a mile there is a patch of grass and jungle; at 1½ miles the Bazár-darra stream, 20 yards wide by 1½ feet deep, flows in from the north, and at the junction there is a fine patch of grass and jungle, known as Ush-dawa. Up the Bazár-darra stream a road leads over the Kokalang Pass into the valley of the Kulan-árgú River, and from thence over the Táktakuran Pass into the valley of the Tis-náf River. From Ush-dawa ponies have to follow the course of the Yárkand River, crossing and recrossing it several times, but a path, practicable only for men on foot, leads over a spur, saving about 2 miles. At 10 miles is the Mohammed Khoja gorge, where the valley contracts, and the river flows between precipitous cliffs. On September 7th, 1889, the river was up to the ponies' backs, and flowing so rapidly that it was impossible for them to cross loaded, and the baggage had to be taken over on camels. Half a mile beyond the gorge the Surukwát stream joins in from the south. There is a camping ground called Kul, where there is excellent grass and high jungle on the Yárkand River. A few hundred yards distant up the Surukwát stream is the camping ground of Surukwát. This march is a trying one on account of the depth of the Yárkand River. By the beginning of October, when the waters have fallen, there is no difficulty in crossing. From Surukwát a route leads down the valley of the Yárkand River to the Tág-dúm-básh Pámir—see Route 2.

7. Surukwát to Ághil Bohor

12¾ miles, 9 hours 40 minutes (2 hours spent in making road) from Sháhidúlÿ 102¼ miles.

Road good enough for 10½ miles, up the pebbly beds of the Surukwát and Aghil Pass streams; after that bad. Grass and fuel plentiful for 5 miles, then grass scarce; fuel can be found here and there the whole way.

8-0.—Leave Surukwát. Ascend the broad, pebbly bed of the Surukwát stream for 2¼ miles till it bifurcates; then ascend the wastern branch, still over a pebbly bed ¼ mile wide. At 4¼ miles a camping ground with plenty of grass and fuel is passed. At 9 miles a stream 12 yards wide and 9 inches to 1 foot deep joins in from the west, and, at 1½ miles beyond this, the Ághil Pass stream passes through two narrow gorges. It is possible to take both camels and ponies through these gorges, but a rough, steep pathway (which we had to spend two hours in improving) exists up the right bank of the stream. The first gorge is 150 yard length, and the second 250 yards. Both are very narrow, in places only 5 yards wide; the bottom is rocky, and covered with boulders, and the stream, about a 2 feet deep, flows with a very rapid current through them. (Two years ago I took my ponies through them, and they were then covered in places with ice, but it was difficult and dangerous work.) Beyond the gorges the road is very bad, of the stream, which is here covered with big boulders for 1¼ miles, and then ascending the right bank.

5-40.—Ághil Bohor is a camping ground in a small plain on the right bank of the Ághil Pass stream. Grass and fuel fairly plentiful.

8. Ághil Bohor to Shaksgám

11½ miles; from Shábidúla 113¾ miles.

Road fairly good, crossing the Ághil Pass (easy).

8-.0—Leave Ághil Bohor, ascending the Ághil Pass stream and passing for one mile over a plain 400 yards wide. At 1¼ miles a stream comes down from the west through a valley ½ mile wide, and about 6 to 8 miles long.

At 3½ miles pass ruins of a hut near a patch of very good grass. The ascent is now easy and gradual, over the long slopes leading from the eastern range. Grass is plentiful and good; fuel scarce.

At 6½ miles reach summit of the Ághil Pass, where there is small lake ¼ mile in length; descent down ravine covered with boulders, rather bad.

3-0.—Shaksgám. A small patch of good grass; fuel scarce; on right of Oprang River. From here a route leads up the valley of the Oprang River to the Sáltoro Pass—see Route 5.

9. Shaksgám to Sarpolaggo

18 miles; from Shábidúla 131¾ miles.

Descend the valley of the Oprang River, pebbly bed ½ to ¾ of a mile broad, crossing the river six times, width 20 to 30 yards, depth 2½ to 3 feet, mountain-sides rocky and precipitous. At 13 miles a pathway leads over a spur to the south, to Suget Jangal on the Mústágh Pass route to Skárdú in Báltistán. The Sarpolaggo camping ground is on the left bank of the Saropolaggo stream, up which lies the route by Suget Jangal to the Mústágh Pass. (For an account of this see Colonel Bell's Report on China, page 570, Vol. II.) On this march fuel and grass are scarce, and at the camping ground little grass is to be obtained.

10. Sarpolaggo to Kárátágh-Bulák

12½ miles; from Shábidúla 154¼ miles.

Follow down the valley of the Oprang River, crossing the river six times, width 30 to 40 yards, depth 2½ to 3 feet; valley bottom pebbly, ¾ mile wide; hill-sides steep. At 6 miles on the left bank are some remarkable waterfalls, and near them patches of very good grass. At Kárátágh-bulák camping ground there is excellent grass and plenty of jungle; thi is the best amping ground on the route, and is frequented by Kanjútis.

11. Kárátágh-Bulák to Yalpak-Tásh

7 hours 25 minutes, 13 miles 1 furlong; from Shábidúla 167½ miles.

Road good down pebbly bed of Oprang River, which has to be crossed nine times; depth 2½ to 3 feet. Fuel plentiful; no grass.

Leave Kárátágh-bulák, descending valley of Oprang River, pebbly bottom ¾ mile wide; hill-sides limestone cliff. Cross river seven times, 2½ to 3 feet deep.

Valley narrows to 300 yards and takes a bend to north road round spur on rocky ledge; cross river and round counter-spur; cross river again, and arrive at Yalpak-tásh; bursa plentiful, but no grass.

12. Yalpak-Tásh to Áf-di-gar

12 miles; from Shábidúla 179½ miles.

Road good, following down the valley of the Oprang River. Cross river seven times, depth 3 to 3½ feet; current rapid. At 3½ miles pass Shimshál-aksai at the junction of a stream running down from the Shimshál Pass. Grass and fuel are plentiful. Road then leaves the valley of the Oprang River, and ascends the right bank of the Af-di-gar streat for 5 miles, when it descends by a zig-zag to the bottom of a ravine, on the opposite bank of which is a Kanjúti outpost, consisting of two towers connected by a wall, which completely blocks the way : this is usually known to the Kirghiz as the Darwáza. Beyond this the road crosses several small nullahs, at which there are small walls for defence. Several stretches of good grass, too, are crossed. At Af-di-gar grass and fuel plentiful.

13—Af-di-gar to shorshma Ághil

14½ miles; from Shábidúla 194 miles.

Ascend the valley of the Af-di-gar stream for 1½ miles, and then turn off westward up a steep zig-zag, on the left bank of the small stream running down from the Shimshál Pass. The ascent up this zig-zag for 1½ miles is steep, but not difficult; and the road then gradually ascends to the summit of the pass, which is a plain, or pámir, and presents no difficulty whatever. A mile from the summit is a small village inhabited in the summer time by Kanútis. On the summit there are two lakes. The descent is equally easy, till within ¾ of a mile of Shorshma Ághil, where there is a steep zig-zag descent to the bed of a stream which flos down from a glacier. Here grass is obtainable, but no fuel, except dry dung.

From here a road leads to the valley of the Hunza River, descending the Shimshál River to Pású, but from all accounts it is very difficult, crossing three over subsidiary ranges, and leading by planks laid along the side of cliffs by he river. Poniers cannot be taken by this route, but a Kirghiz captive informed me that they are taken by the Múrkhún Pass (also a very difficult route) to Murkhún, a place three marches higher up the Hunza River than the junction of the Shimshál stream.

Route II

Sháhidúla to the Tagh-dum-básh Pámir

180 miles, 14 marches.

Road practicable for laden animal, but impassble for ponies during the summar months, up till the end of September or middle of October, on account of the depth of the Yárkand River. Camels can be taken by the route a month or more earlier. No supplies obtainable *en route;* grass fairly plentiful, fuel plentiful. Sheep and goats can be obtained in abundance on the Pámir, but no other form of supplies.

1-6. Sháhidúla to Surukwat

6 marches, 89½ miles (see Route No. 1)

7-9.—Surukwát to Chong Jangal.

Three marches (Azgar-Tashnuma-Chong Jangal), about 40 miles down the valley of the Yárkand River; road said to be difficult but practicable for ponies. Grass and fuel plentiful.

10. Chong Jangal to Uruksai

13¼ miles; from Shâhidûla 133¼ miles

Ponies follow the bed of the Yárkand River, crossing and recrossing stream several times, which, even at the end of October, was nearly up to pnies' backs. A road for men on foot, and which could be easily made practicable for laden ponies, lies along the right bank of the stream. The bottom of the valley is about three-quarters of a mile broad, covered with pebbles, over which the river flows. The mountain-sides are in these parts chiefly shingle slopes, but at the side streams there is often an alluvial fan, on which are seen patches of scrub and grass, and also trees. These parts used in former times to be cultivated. Uruksai is at the mouth ofthe Uruk stream, flowing down from the south. Grass and fuel are plentiful at this camping ground, and, up the valley of the Uruk stream, Kirghiz even now cultivate small patches of ground.

11. Uruksai to Khaian Aksai

11 miles, from Shâhidûla .144 miles

Keep down the left bank of the Yárkand River for 3¼ miles, to a large patch of high jungle called Sarik-umish; opposite this there is another large stretch of jungle with a good many trees, and all about here used formerly to be well populated. At 6½ miles from Uruksai the road leaves the valley of the Yárkand River, and ascends the narrow valley of the Ilisu River. There is no road down the Yárkad River, as the mountains are said to close in, so that the river runs between previpitous cliffs; but a road leads for one march down the valley over a kotal called the Tupa-dawán to a pasture ground, which is much frequented by the Kirghiz from the Tágh-dúm-básh Pámir. The valley of the Ilisu is choked up with a high jungle and trees which very much obstruct the passage of baggage animals. The stream itself is small; at the end of October it was from 10 to 15 yards broad, and about 1½ feet deep. Khaian Aksai is a camping ground close to a hot spring; grass and fuel are abundant.

12. Khaian Aksai to Tolti-Jilga.

8 miles; from Shábidúla 152 miles.

Ascend the valley of the Ilisu River; jungle less dense, but still at times obstructive. Tolti-jilga is at the junction of two streams, of which the northern one leads to the Kurbu Pass. Grass and fuel obtainable.

13. Tolti-Jilga to Ilisu (across Kurbu Pass)

11 miles; from Shábidúla 163 miles

Ascend a narrow valley; scrub and jungle gradually lessen, and the road leads over pebbly bed of the stream, gradually ascending for 8½ miles to the Kurbu Pass, 14,700 feet high. The summit of the pass is rounded and smooth, and the ascent to it is quite easy. The descent for about half a mile is very steep, but it is practicable for laden ponies; the road then leads down the bed of a stream, which finally opens out on to he Tágh-dúm-básh Pámir. At Ilisu there are three or four Kirghiz yurts (felt tents) situated on an open undulating plain or pámir. Grass is plentiful, but no fuel, except dung, is obtainable. The Kirghiz deep large flocks of sheep and goats, also ponies and yaks. From here roads lead in all directions over the Tágh-dúm-básh Pámir, and there is no difficulty in moving in any direction.

14.—Ilisu to Káráchukar

16½ miles; from Shábidúla 179½ miles

The road leads over the pámir, an open plain partly of stone and partly covered with grass. At 2 miles a route leads off to the right over the Miriam Pass to the lower valley of the Yárkand River. At Káráchukar ope stream leads down from the Khunjeráb Pass and another from the Mintaka and Wakhurjui Passes; these two unite at an old fort called Kurgán-i-Ujadbai, a few miles below the camping ground of Káráchukar. Grass and fuel abundant; small patches of land are also sometimes cultivated. From Káráchukar, Táshkurgán may be reached in two long marches; road easy, leading down the pámir.

Route 3

From the Tágh-dúm-básh Pámir (Káráchukar) to the Valley of the Hunza River by the Mintaka Pass.

Route practicable for laden animals, but closed by snow from the middle or end of November till the end of April. Sheep and goats obtainable, but no other supplies; grass plentiful, fuel scarce.

1. Káráchukar to Mintaka Aksai

15¼ miles

Ascend the valley of the Káráchukar stream; at 6 miles a road leads off to the north over the Jaiyik Pass to Aktásh on the Little Pámir. This route is practicable for ponies. At Mintaka Aksai fuel is scarce, grass plentiful. There is here a Kirghiz encampment of nine tents, with large flocks of sheep and goats. From here a route leads over the Wakhurjui Pass into Wakhán. It is practicable for ponies, and is occasionally used by the traders between Yárkand and Badakshán.

2. Mintaka Aksai to Foot of Mintaka Pass

9 miles; from Káráchukar 24½ miles

Road leaves the valley of the Káráchukar stream and ascends the valley of the Mintaka stream, easy and practicable for ponies; the hill-sides are often covered with large patches of good grass, and are much frequented by the oves poli. The camping ground is about a mile and a half on the north side of the pass, at a spot where grass is plentiful, but fuel somewhat scarce.

3. Camp North Foot of Mintaka Pass to Murkúsh

11 miles; from Káráchukar 35 miles

Ascend bed of stream for one mile, then by zig-zag up mountain-side to the Mintaka Pass, 14,400 feet; at the summit in the beginning of November there was deep snow, but in the summer the pass is said to be free of snow. The mountains alongside are very high and rugged, and some of the peaks are probably close on 23,000 feet in height. The descent is very steep and difficult, leading over a number of boulders on to a glacier on the southern side. It passes over this for a mile and a half, and then descends the pebbly bed of the Lop Jangal stream to Murkúsh. The Mintaka Pass, although the ascent and descent are steep and difficult, is practicable for ponies, and is the best route and the one most frequently used between Hunza and Yárkand. Immediately before reaching Murkúsh grass and fuel are plentiful, but there are no houses.

At this point the route joins that from Hunza by the Kilik Pass to Wákhan, traversed by Colonel Lockhart's Mission and described in the Gazetter of the Eastern Hindu Kush Route, No. 41. Hunza is 70 miles distant from here, and Langar, the first village in Wakhán, 72 miles.

Route 4

From the Tágh-Dúm-Básh Pámir to the Valley of the Hunza River by the Khunjeráb Pass

As far as the Khunjeráb Pass the road is easy, leading up the broad pámir. The pass is 14,300 feet high, and is quite easy on the northern side and is practicable for ponies; but on the southern side the country is said to be difficult, and the route is closed between the end of October and the middle of May. It is possible, however, to take ponies by it in the summer months. The route enters the valley of the Hunza River between Misgah and Gircha. From Káráchukar to the Khunjeráb Pass is two marches, and to Gircha three more. No supplies except sheep and goats are obtainable; grass is plentiful, fuel scarce.

Route 5

From Shaksgám to the Sáltoro Pass

Route impracticable for military purposes on account of glaciers.

Shaksgám to Gusherbrum-Jilga

15 miles

Ascend pebbly bed of Oprang River, from ½ to ¾ mile broad. At 2 miles small patch of grass, a mile to the left, called Kulan-jilga. At 7 miles fine patch of grass and jungle called

Darbin Jangal; beyond this point no brushwood is obtainable; ¾ of a mile beyond Darbin Jangal a stream, from 15 to 20 yards broad, with a depth of 1 foot, flowing over a pebbly bed about 400 yards wide, runs in on the right bank. One could get no information of there being any road up it. The Oprang River is crossed three times. In the middle of September it was 2 feet deep, and divided into many channels. Gusherbrum-jilga is a camping ground on the right bank of the Oprang River, on a stream flowing down from the Gusherbrum peaks to the west. There are small quantities of low scrub about, which serve for grass and fuel.

1 The name on this route were given by me as the localities had previously no names, the country being uninhabited.

Gusherbrum-Jilga to Glacier Camp 1

8½ hours, 9 miles; from Shaksgám 24 miles

The first 4 miles good; then the Oprang River has to be crossed and recrossed several times. Being a glacier river, it varies in depth with the time of day. At 10 A.M. it was 3½ feet deep, with a strong current. Afterwards ascend moraine of the Urdok glacier; going fair for a couple of miles, this very bad. Scrub for fuel and grass is found at end of glacier. At the camping spot there is very scanty grass and no fuel.

After leaving Gusherbrum-jilga still keep up the broad, pebbly bed of the Oprang River. Two small streams are crossed—one issuing from a glacier, which, running down from the main Mústágh range to the west, reaches to within half a mile of the Oprang River.

At 4 miles reach the end of a second glacier. This glacier nearly touches the right bank of the Oprang River, but just leaves room for the stream to flow between it and the cliffs on the right bank. Consequently, the river has here to be crossed several times. It is generally divided into many channels, but where it was in one stream it was 27 yards broad, 3½ feet deep, with a rapid current. The breadth of the glacier at the end is 1,000 yards. After rounding end of glacier, cross a gravel plain lying between this glacier and the Urdok glacier, for ¾ mile; then ascend the moraine on left bank of Urdok glacier; going for 9 miles then very bad.

Camp 1 to Camp 2

8½ hours, 3½ miles; from Shaksgám 27½ miles.

Still ascend the glacier; going very bad, the ponies not being able to keep their footing on the thin layer of gravel which covers the rice of the glacier. We were three times compelled to go back on account of cravasses. No grass or fuel.

Camp 2 to Camp 3

7¾ hours, 5½ miles; from Shaksgám 33 miles

Still ascend glacier, up a medial moraine, near foot of Sáltoro Pass. No grass or fuel.

The Sáltoro Pass is so steep and difficult as to be impracticable for any except practised mountaineers.

Route 6

Shimshál-Aksai to Chong Jangal.

2 marches, 27 miles.

Practicable for laden animals. No supplies; grass scarce; fuel plentiful.

Shimshál-Aksai to Shor-Bulák

11 miles.

Descend the valley of the Oprang River, crossing the stream nine times; depth 3½ to 4 feet, and very difficult to ford on account of the rapidity and strength of the stream. At 7 miles a patch of jungle on the left called Kuram-jilga, near the junction of a small stream. Shor-bulák is a spot situated near the junction of a stream, 15 yards broad and 1 foot deep, flowing down from the Oprang Pass leading on to the Tágh-dúm-básh Pámir. Up this stream road used formerly to exist, but it seems now to have fallen into disuse on account of landslips. At Shor-bulák grass and fuel are plentiful near a warm sulphur spring.

Shor-Bulák to Chong Jangal.

16 miles; from Sháhidúla 27 miles.

Following down valley of the Oprang River to its junction with the Yárkand River, cross the streams eight times, depth 4 feet, and fords very difficult, as the stream can only be crossed where the current is rapid, for where the current is smooth the stream is too deep. Patches of high jungle and grass are met with a few miles above, and at Chong Jangal there is an extensive stretch of jungle 2 miles in length with plenty of good grass. This spot is on the road between Sháhidúla and the Tágh-dúm-básh Pámir—see Route 2.

Miscellaneous Cross Routes, from Native Information

a. Sháhidúla to Khotán

13 marches; impracticable for laden animals.

1. Ali-Nazar-Kurgán.
2. Inishiro. Down the valley of the Kárákásh
3. Tirik. River.
4. Gali-molak.
5. Kashus. Cross a very difficult pass—the Kashus-dawán; unladen ponies can be taken across with aid of ropes.
6. Kyan-alik Pass—not difficult.
7. Losu. Cross another Pass.
8. Aktásh Pass.
9. Yalguz-zerat Pass.
10. Toru-nê Pass. Arrive in Metiz River valley, which is well cultivated and inhabited by Khotán people.

13. Khotan. Follow down the valley of the Metiz River.

The passes crossed on this route are over a succession of spurs running down to the Kárákásh River.

b. Sháhidúla to Khotán (*vid* the Hindi-Tásh Pass)

13 marches; practicable for animals

1. Gulbashen. Ascend the valley of the Kárákásh River.

2. Kyan Shiwar.
3. Pashnia. Cross the Hindi-tásh Pass (marked the Hindu-tágh on our maps);—except in one or two bad places it is practicable for laden ponies.
4. Shamsher-mazar-Khojan—on Kárákásh River.
5. Khatai-tam—on Kárákásh River.
6. Toman.
7. Chowar—on Toman river.
8. Sunak. Cross Buniya Pass; easy.
9. Dowa.
10. Zung-guya—in a plain.
11. Piál-már.
12. Zabar.
13. Khotán

Road all good, except the Hindi-tásh Pass.

For routes from Yárkand see Forsyth's Yárkand Mission Report, and Colonel Bell's Report on China, 1888, Vol. II.

For routes on the Pámir see Forsyth's Yárkand Mission Report.

For routes from Russian territory see Captain Belley's "From Osh to Chitral," compiled in the Intelligence Branch.

For routes in Hunza see Captain Barrow's Gazetter of the Eastern Hindu Kush, and Colonel Lockhart's Report of the Gilgit Mission.

3

Cradle of Several Races

Kashmir has been a cradle of many races whose languages and cultural patterns were fused into a composite group. This is borne out partly by historical records and partly by linguistic evidence. The Indo-Greek invasion of this region in the second century B.C. might have resulted in some race-admixture. In the same century the Sakas, under the pressure of Yue-chis, infiltrated into India through the north-western frontiers. It is not unlikely that a section of the Sakas or their descendants living in the neighbouring Baltistan made their way into the valley. There is positive evidence of Kashmir having been ruled over by the Kusánas in the early centuries of the Christian era. Of Kaniska's sway over the valley there is no doubt whatsoever. It is, therefore, reasonable to assume that a number of Yue-chis settled down here, and there is archaeological evidence in support of this conjecture. The beautiful and sequestered Kashmir valley probably provided a resting ground for the invading Huns in the 5th-6th century A.D. Hiuen Tsang and Kalhana confirm the sway, over Kashmir, of the Hun ruler Mihirakula. The Gurjaras, who might have belonged to the Hum stock or have been a distinct race, penetrated into India through the north-west and probably settled in Kashmir before the Muslim occupation of the valley. Even to-day a large proportion of the Kashmirian population is constituted by the

Gurjaras, the Rājputs and Jāts all of whom trace their origin to the Gurjaras. The Bhauttas, whose onslaught on Kashmir is referred to by Kalhana (R.T. 1. 312), were the people of Tibet which had close contacts with Kashmir. It is not unlikely that some Tibetans settled down in the valley. The Kirātas. mentioned by Kalhana as a low-class section of the Kashmirian population, are believed to be of Tibeto-Burman stock.

Kashmir's contact with the plains of India dates back to hoary antiquity. We have it on Kalhana's authority (R.T. 1.101-107) that the Muurya Emperor Asoka founded the city of Srînagara, and set up some religious establishments. It is probably that, at Asoka's time, there was a brisk social and cultural intercourse between Kashmir and the Indian plains. As a result, quite a number of Indians must have settled there. Throughout the long Hindu rule Indians in large number are likely to have migrated to Kashmir; this perhaps accounts for the widespread Sanskrit culture of the land.

The vocabulary of the Kashmirian language has some Sanskrit words, but the language itself is not basically Sanskrit. It belongs to the Dardic group which branched off from the parent Aryan group and had a parallel development with Indo-Aryan. In some respects, it shares the characteristics of both the Indo-Aryan and the Iranian. This Dardic language was dubbed Paisācî by the Indian grammarians. The Dardic-speaking people appear to have lived originally in the Pamir whenc they migrated to Kashmir through Citral and Gilgit. The language of Kashmir contains a sprinkling of Burushaski, the language of the non-Aryan race of the same name. This fact has led some scholars to infer that the Burushaski people were the original inhabitants of Kashmir. The tribes or races which successively peopled Kashmir were, according to the *'Nîlamatapurāna*, the Nāgas, the Pisācas and other men. This perhaps correspond to the Burushaskis the Dards and the Sanskrit-speaking people of the Indian plains.

Of the political history of Kashmir from the earliest times Kalhana's *Raja-taranginî* is the principal source. But regarding the pre-Asokan period this work contains more of fiction and fancy than of fact. The Persian and Greek source tend to prove that Kashmir was one of the regions to come under the sway of Persian rulers. Alexander, while leaving India, is stated to have permitted the king of Abhisāra to rule over Kashmir along with some other places.

From the *Rāja-taranginî*, the Buddhist work *Mahā-vamsa* as well as from Hiuen Tsang's account we learn that this valley formed part of the empire of Asoka who, though tolerant towards the Brahmanical religion, had *Stūpas* built in Kashmir besides building the city of Srînagara. Kalhana tells us that Asoka was succeeded by his son and the latter by his son. The fall of the Maurya empire ushered in a period when the north-west of India fell a victim to foreign invasions from which Kashmir was not immune. The political stability of Kashmir was revived by the rulers Huska, Juska and Kaniska who were respectively the Kusāna kings Huviska, Vāsiska and Kaniska I.

The next historical figure, who is difinitely known to have ruled over Kashmir, is the Húna ruler Mihirakula. But the history of the period between the end of the Kusāna rule and the emergence of the Húna sway is confused. How long the Kusāna rule continued is not known with certainty. Kalhana mentions a number of rulers in the period intervening between the Kusānas and the Húnas. This period is reported to have witnessed the predominance of Buddhism and ultimately the revival of the traditional religion. Mihirakula's rule over Kashmir is testified to by Kalhana, and is corroborated by Hiuen Tsang. This ruler is stated to have been a devout Saiva.

A veil of obscurity hangs over a period of about one hundred years following Mihirakula. Kalhana does mention a series of kings and a host of events in this period. But his account is at places so disfigured by hopeless exaggeration and so blended with awful supernatural element that one cannot pick out the truth from the morass of untruth. Moreover, in respect of this period this poet-chronicler's account has no corroborative evidence. All that can be gathered as probably true is that this period saw the establishment of a number of shrines dedicated to Siva and of some charitable institutions for Brāhmanas. Some Buddhist monasteries and a few temples in honour of Visnu also were perhaps set up. We may probably accept as true also the information that sometimes in this period the valley was torn by internal dissensions and that it was brought under the rule, however brief of Harsa.

It is with the accession of Durlabhavardhana that we stand on the solid bed-rock of history. He is stated to have been a petty official of king Bālāditya whose daughter, Anangalekhā, was married by him, On Bālāditya's death Durlabha occupied the throne, and ruled from 600 to 636 A.D. The history of Kashmir from this period down to the tenth century is narrated by Kalhana with tolerable accuracy, although legendary lore and exaggerated accounts sometimes intrude into the realm of sober history. Happily for us, the Chinese historians, Alberuni and the Kashmirian scholars like Ksemendra and Jonarāja corroborate Kalhana's account, and make up for the deficiency of the latter. Numismatic evidence also is a guide to us for the history of this period.

Durlabha is represented as having been born to Nāga Karkota, the serpent-deity worshipped in Kashmir. He is thus the founder of the Karkota dynasty. Hiuen Tsang perhaps visited Kashmir during his reign. Durlabha's kingdom appears to have extended beyond the river Vitastā up to Urasā or Hazara, Taksasilā and Simhapura or the Salt Range thus including the hill states of Rājapurî and Parnotsa.

After the death of Durlabha no less than fifteen kings of the Karkota dynasty ruled over Kashmir till the middle of the ninth century. The post-Durlabha Karkota rule was marked by many events of diverse character. His son and successor Durlabhaka or Pratāpāditya II founded the city of Pratāpapura (modern Tapar). Muktāpîda Lalitāditya, perhaps the most noteworthy ruler of this line, is reported to have carried his victorious arms to the Himalayan regions and to the plains of India, viz. Kanauj, Kalinga and Gauda. He is stated also to have marched through Koukana. Dvārakā and Avanti. The account of his conquests may be exaggerated; because, of his conquest of Gauda, Kalinga and of the states in southern and western India there is no confirmation from other sources. But, the defeat of the powerful Yasovarman of Kanauj at his hands admits of little doubt. Lalitāditya is credited with the construction of Stúpas, Vihāras and Caityas some of which exist even today. The landed class, known as Dāmaras, became very powerful during his reign, and posed a threat to the security of the throne. The king rightly thought of crushing them—a task which death prevented him from fulfilling.

Lalitāditya's reign was followed by a succession of rulers who were weak and vicious. It was in this period that the valley passed temporarily to the hands of aliens. The Arab governor of Sind conquered Kashmir. After a brief break, the Karkota rule was revived under Jayāpîda who is stated to have vanquished the king of Kanauj besides the king of Nepal and another king of eastern India. Scholars of the eminence of Udbhata, Dāmodaragupta etc. are reported to have adorned his court. We learn also that he founded the new capital of Jayapura.

The Karkota rulers, who flourished after Jayāpîda, proved to be worthless as men and as kings. Taking advantage of the minority of one of them, Cippatajayāpîda, his maternal uncle, became the *defacto* ruler, and eventually put him to death. The Karkota dynasty came to an end with the accession of Avantivarman, son of Sukhavarman who was son of Utpala, one of the maternal uncles of the said Cippata. An important fact about Kashmir under the Karkota rulers is that China supplied them with men and money for their expeditions in the different regions of India.

Avantivarman's reign extended from 855 to 883 A.D. The later Karkota rulers left the country in utter confusion, and economically Kashmir was in a miserable condition. Avantivarman was faced with the colossal task of economic reconstruction and the suppression of the menacing Dāmaras. His reign was glorious in that, during this period, Ânandavardhana, the poetician, Sivasvāmin and Ratnākaram the poets, and Kallata, the Saiva philosopher, flourished in Kashmir.

Avantivarman was succeeded by his son Sankaravarman.

His attempt at rebuilding the empire of Kashmir met with partial success. Sankara's death was followed by a period of confusion and intrigue. There was constant feud among the rival claimants of the throne. The tantrins posed a grave threat. They were put down with the help of Dāmaras who afterwards themselves assumed a menacing attitude. After many political vicissitudes and the rule of many a king Kashmir came under the sway of Ksemagupta (950 A.D.) He married Diddā, daughter of a Lohara king. This marriage was of tremendous political significance. It not only brought Kashmir and Lohara very close to each other, but the valley passed to the Lohara family after the death (1003 A.D.) of Diddā, a ruthless and immoral lady but nevertheles an able queen who assumed the reins of government in 980 A.D.

After Diddā's death the throne passed to Samgrāmarāja of Lohara. His reign was marked by the rebellion of Brāhmanas and temple-priests and by corruption of officials who oppressed the public. It was during this time that Sultān Māhmud of Ghazni overran the valley, carried away fabulous booty and converted many people to Islam. Two more efforts of the Sultān to conquer Kashmir were abortive.

Samgrāmarāja was succeeded by Harirāja and the latter by Ananta. The Sāhi princes, expelled from Und by the Muslim invaders, took shelter in Ananta's court and exercised considerable influence on the politics of Kashmir. Ananta quelled a rebellion of the Dāmaras, and repulsed an invasion by a Darad ruler. Ananta led expeditions against some neighbouring states with varying degrees of success and even failure in some cases. Ananta abdicated the throne in favour of his son Kalasa. A noteworthy event took place at this time. Ksiṭirāja, a king of Lohara, relinquished the reins of government, and gave the kingdom to Utkarsa, son of Kalasa in preference to his own son.

When Utkarsa succeeded Kalasa, the became the joint ruler of Lohara and Kashmir. But, fickle fortune did not favour him. His tactless conduct enraged his followers. Two princes, whom he had offended, allied themselves with the Dāmaras, and, having confined Utkarsa to the palace, released Harsa, the rebel son of Kalasa and elder brother of Utkarsa, who was kept in the prison by both his fater and brother.

Harsa occupied the throne in 1089 A.D., threw Utkarsa into prison where the latter committed suicide. He started administration with great promise. Himself a lover of letters, he extended warm patronage to artists and litteratures. Wise domestic policy earned him admiration. But, he proved to be a spendthrift having been given to excessive luxury. His ambitious projects of extending his sway over the neighbouring mountain territories also drained the royal treasury. To add to his troubles, plots were hatched up by his brother and relatives to dethrone him and even to put him to death. With a firm hand he foiled these plots, and slew some of their authors. Now he set his heart on replenishing the treasury, and, with this end in view, adopted all sorts of means fair and foul. He extorted money by imposing heavy taxes, and even by confiscating temple-properties and selling images of deities for their metal value. His personal life at this time was blackened by his recourse to debauchery. His ill-conducted expeditions against Rājapurí and the fort of Dugdhaghāta met with utter failure. At this time, the ill-fated valley fell a victim to natural calamities like famine and plague. In the wake of all this, the administration of Kashmir was in a lamentable state of confusion when life and property became insecure. The Dāmaras exploited the situation, and raised their rebellious heads against the king. Some of them were put down. The suspicious Harsa nursed a feeling that princes Uccala and Sussala, who were offshoots of the Lohara dynasty and helpful allies of the king, had a design on his throne. He was contemplating their murder when they, helped by Dāmaras and others, defeated him in a battle and finally put him to death.

On Harsa's death in 1101 A.D. the aforesaid Uccala came to the throne. He removed his brother, Sussala, who had a greedy eye on the throne of Kashmir, to Lohara to rule over that kingdom. Having realised the potential threat from the Dāmaras he kept them under control partly by resort to arms but largely by a stroke of diplomacy. Uccala tried to tone up the internal administration by removing the corrupted Kāyastha officials, and earned the goodwill of his subjects by ameliorative measures. But, lack of tact in certain matters alienated his followers and dependants. Uccala found himself face to face with a series of unhappy situations in which there were attempts by his brother, Sussala, and by some Dāmaras, to deprive him of the coveted throne. Misfortune dogged his footsteps and, at last, he fell a victim to destardly murder in one night at the hand of conspirators.

Uccala's death in 1111 A.D. was followed by a brief period of political instability in which the throne frequently changed hands when at last Sussala came to power in 1112 A.D. The crown that Sussala wore was one of thorns. Some Dāmaras and others attempted, though unsuccessfully, to oust him or even to take away his life. With the help of some officers Sussala no doubt succeeded in filling the treasury, but his exacting fiscal measures made him unpopular. Expensive expeditions depleted the treasury, and the king had to extort more money from the people; this measure proved to be the last straw on the camel's back. Added to the people's discontent there was a fresh Dāmara rising which was, however, curbed successfully. Bhiksācara, a pretender to the throne, supported by Dāmaras and top-ranking military officers, alienated by the king's unseemly conduct, posed a dangerous threat. For sometime Sussala held his own, but at last was forced to leave for Lohara. Bhiksācara came to power, but within a brief period proved an unsuccessful administrator with the result that Sussala again grabbed the throne of Kashmir. In the period that followed, Sussala had to fight against Dāmaras and Bhiksācara.

Sussala was the *defacto* ruler although he placed his son Jayasimha on the throne. Sussala, however, lost his life at the hands of a conspirator named Utpala. Jayasimha's early career was full of trouble at home and abroad, but subsequently he consolidated his power, and engaged himself in constructive work. He died about 1154 A.D.

He was followed by a series of kings none of whom was very famous. Their reigns were marked by internal dissensions, foreign invasions and intrigues. In the reign of a king, Suhadeva by name, one Duluca, who was probably a Turk Mahomedan, invaded Kashmir and went away after his predatory activities. The second invasion was by one Bhutta Riûcana. He seized the royal power, and retained in his service a Muslim adventurer named Sahamer (Shāh Mîr). Riûcana lost his life in c. 1323 A.D. at the hands of conspirators. Sahamera put one Udayanadeva on the throne, and on the latter's death in 1338 A.D. Kotādevî, queen of the departed Riûcana, assumed power. She was soon ousted by Sahamera who occupied the throne (1338 A.D.) under the title of Sultān Shamsuddin. The Sultān forced an unwilling marriage on Kotādevî who spent but one night with him, and was thrown into prison where she is reported to have committed suicide.

This marks the beginning of Muslim rule in Kashmir, and the virtual end of the cultivation of Sanskrit learning in that valley.

4

Meghavahana

On Mihirakula's death the Kashmir throne was fortunately occupied once again by a staunch Buddhist. He was Meghavahana. The nw ruler whom Kalhana places after Aryaraja belonged to an old ruling dynasty of Kashmir. His father was a descendent of Yudhishthira who, we have seen, was deposed to make way for Pratapaditya.

Meghavahana who was living in exile at the Gandhara court when the Kashmir throne fell vacant was approached by the Kashmiri ministers to occupy it. This he willingly did.

Meghavahana's zeal for Buddhism is indicated by the fact that at the very time of his coronation he issued a proclamation prohibiting the slaughter of animals—even in sacrifices—throughout the realm. The prohibition who later extended to the killing of birds and fishes also. In fact he was so keen about the practice of non-violence that he is represented as having undertaken a *digvijaya* to impose his prohibition of slaughter on all. In the course of this 'conquest of earth' he is shown by Kalhana as having subdued King Vibishana of Ceylon but nc independent evidence is forthcoming to substantiate this claim.

Meghavahana's solicitude for the welfare of his subjects is deserving of the highest praise. He realised that his prohibition of killing would mean great hardship to butchers, fishermen and others who would thus be thrown out of employment. The kind-hearted ruler, therefore, gave them generous monetary assistance to set themselves up in other professions or business.

His regard for the religious susceptibilities of his people was equally great. At his suggestion, therefore, effigies of animals made of paste, butter, etc., were offered at sacrifices in place of animals by those who believed in such practices. Not only that. Once he was approached by a Brahman whose only son was about to die of some ailment. The Brahman placed the responsibility for the approaching death of his dear child on the king, whose prohibitory orders prevented him from offering an animal sacrifice which, according to him, would save his dying son. The king thereupon decided to offer himself as a sacrifice if the child did not recover soon. Fortunately the child was miraculously restored to health before the king's decision was carried out. On another occasion when meghavahana was on a conquering expedition abroad his intervention is stated to have saved an unfortunate waif who was about to be sacrificed by a superstitious *Kirata* (Bhil).

Meghavahana founded a city, created an *agrahara* and built a convent known after his name. He also built a number of viharas. meghavahana's zeal for Buddhist foundations well understood if he is placed after Mihirakula. The king's wives—he had about half a dozen—vied with him in his enthusiasm for the erection of religious buildings. The chief among them, Amritaprabha built a lofty vihara for the use of *bhikshus* (monks) from the plains. The vihara known after her as *Amritabhavana* has left its name to the small village Antabhavan (near Vicharnag) about three miles to the north of Srinagar. The great antiquary Sir Aurel Stein has recorded that in June 1895, he found in the vicinity of the village of Vicharnag the remains of 'what appears to have been once a vihara". He adds, "A solid mound constructed of stone and concrete which rises in the centre of the site and is still in ts ruined stated over 20 feet high, can scarcely be anything but a stupa. Around it can be traced the foundations of a great quadrangular building marked by large carved slabs *in situ*. The base of a staircase leading to the

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stupa mound can also be distinguished. About 30 yards to the east lies a tank-like depression which has retained parts of a massive enclosing wall of great antiquity". Stones from here, he was told, were used in the construction of many temples and other buildings towards the close of the nineteenth century.

Amritaprabha was a princess of Assam. Her *guru* who hailed from Lo (Leh) founded a stupa. Another queen Yukadevi built a vihara 'of wonderful appearance' at Nadavana (Narvor) in the northern part of Srinagar. Bachelors and married *bhikshus* both were accommodated in it. Other queens also got built viharas which were known after them. One of them, Indradevi built a stupa also. Her vihara was known *Indradevibhavana*. Its location is not known but the site of the monastery built by the queen Khadana was been located at Khadaniyar, about four miles below Baramulla on the right bank of the Jhelum.

With Meghavahana's death Buddhism in Kashmir was once again bereft of royal patronage. But there is no record anywhere of any persecution of its followers or of any discrimination towards them in the time of his successors. In fact, a number of Buddhist sacred buildings were put up in their time. There is mention of the erection of a big vihara in the time of Pravarasena II who ruled towards the later part of the sixth century A.D. The vihara was built by the illustrious king's maternal uncle Jayendra and was known after him as the *Jayendravihara*. Hiuen Tsang put up in this vihara during his stay in Kashmir. The exact location of the vihara has not been so far determined but it appears to have been situated somewhere near the present-day *Jama Masjid* of Srinagar. Sir Walter Lawrence records that according to some people the ground on which the mosque stands was sacred to the Buddhists. In his time also Buddhists from Ladakh visited the mosque and spoke of it by its old name, Tsitsung Tsublak Kang.

Pravarasena's minister Moroka built a convent known after himself. Kalhana calls it the 'world famous *Morokabhavana*.' This also appears to have been a Buddhist building on the analogy of other such buildings like Narendrabhavana, Amritabhavana, etc.

Pravarasena was himself a great builder. He founded a new town, Pravarapura, to which he transferred his capital from Shrinagari founded by Ashoka. In the new town which lay between the right bank of the Vitasta and the foot of the Hari Parbat hill, he erected a number of palatial buildings and temples. The massive ruins of some of these can be seen to this day outside the high wall which surrounds the hill on its south-west. Jayendra's vihara and Moroka's *bhavana* were in this town.

Buddhist buildings continued to be erected in the time of Pravarasena's successors. As in Paravarasena's time the faith was professed by men in high places even. Among these may be mentioned Vajrendra and Skanda, ministers of Yudhishthira, son and successor of Pravarasena. Vajrendra who was the son of Jayendra built a number of chaityas and viharas. Skanda founded an imposing vihara—known after him as the *Skandabhavanavihara*—which has left its name Khandabhavan to a locality in Srinagar. This locality is in the north of the city between Nau Kadal (6th Bridge) and *I'd Gah*. Stein claims that he was able to trace the site of Skanda's vihara in the close vicinity of the *ziarat* of Pir Mohammed Basur.

Yudhishthira was followed by Narindraditya-Lakhana. His son Ranaditya is credited by Kalhana with an incredible rule of three hundred years. Once of Ranaditya's queens was a patron of Buddhism. She placed an image in the vihara built by Bimba, a queen of Meghavahana. A convent and a vihara were built by the ministers, Brahman and Galuna in the time of Ranaditya's son, Vidramaditya.

Vikramaditya's son and successor Baladitya was the last ruler of the Gonanda dynasty. From him the rule of Kashmir passed to the Karkota dynasty.

Baladitya had been foretold that he would be succeeded by his son-in-law. To prevent this happening, the married his daughter Anangalekha to a petty official named Durlabhavardhana. The later, through his judicious conduct and forbearance soon won the favour of his father-in-law and his chief minister, and when Baladitya passed away, he was installed on the throne. Baladitya's son had predeccesed him.

A brief interlude in this misrule occurred between 939 and 948 A.D. when the Brahman Yashaskara was on the throne. He had been selected as king by an assembly of Brahmans called together for this specific purpose by the Commander-in-Chief who had driven out his predecessor. Yashaskara proved to be a good and just ruler. In his time the land became free from robbery and the rapacity of the officials. He built a monastery for students coming from Aryadesha (India).

Yashaskara's illegitimate son was killed by the wicked minister Parvagupta within a few methods of his accession. The regicide then raised himself to the throne but he too was not destined to enjoy it for more than a year and a half.

Parvagupta's son and successor Kshemagupta was destined to rule for a longer span, from 950 to 958 A.D., during which Kashmir saw one of the worst periods of her history. There were few vices which this grossly sensual youth did not have. He was a merciless tyrant, a hardened drunkard and an unscrpulous gambler. His court was full of harlots, knaves, and depraved fellows. He earned lasting infamy by burning down the magnificent *Jayendravihara* erected in the time of Pravarasena. He got the noble edifice destroyed because a feudal lord had taken refuge in it to escape death at the hands of his assassins. The king's wrath was not appeased merely by reducing the vihara to ashes. He took the thirtysix villages belonging to it and granted them to a tributary chief. With the brass from the statue of the Buddha in this vihara and stones from decaying temples he built a temple of his own in the capital. Just before his death, however, he had two *mathas* (convents or monasteries) built at Huskapura.

Kshemagupta's reign is important in the history of Kashmir by reason of his marriage to Didda, grand-daughter of Bhima, the Shahi ruler of Udhbanda. Didda, was a woman of the imperious type. She so dominated her husband in his lifetime that he was nick-named Diddakshema. Politically astute and morally loose, the charming Didda managed to maintain herself as the virtual ruler of Kashmir for close upon half a century.

After her husband's death, Didda acted as a regent to her young son Abhimanyu. There were a number of uprisings which she cleverly put down by bribing some and exterminating the other ringleaders. The king was a consumptive, died in 972 A.D. and was succeeded by his son Nandigupta.

Her son's death had a chastening effect on the queen for some time and at the suggestion of some pious councillors she launched upon some philanthropic activity. To prepetuate the memory of her husband, her son and her own, she founded a number of temples and other sacred buildings. She is stated to have made sixtyfour foundations one of which, *Diddamatha*, has given its name Didamar to a locality in Srinagar (on the right bank of the Vitasta between the sixth and seventh bridges). She restored some of the ruined buildings and enclosed with stone walls almost all the temples whose walls had been burnt down. It is not unlikely that she repaired the *Jayendravihara* also. There is, however, specific mention of the erection of two viharas by her. One of these *Diddamatha*, has already been referred to above. The other appears to have been in Lohara (Poonch). Both the viharas were meant to house Kashmiris and foreigners both. Valga the woman who carried the lame queen also built a matha known after her as the *Valgamatha*.

Within a year of her son's death Didda's lust for power reasserted itself and she destroyed 'through witchcraft' her grandson who had occupied the throne of the death of his father. Another grandson, who succeeded, was also disposed of by her in the same way. In the reign of her third grandson Bhimagupta she threw off all restraint in her personal conduct and openly made love to a letter-carrier named Tunga. Five years after Bhimagupta's accession she got him killed by torture and herself ascended the throne. There were uprisings and revolts but the combined intelligence and resources of the queen and her paramour were able to overcome them all successfully.

Didda died in 1003 A.D. and from her the rule of Kashmir passed to Sangramaraja, a scion of the ruling dynasty of Lohara or Poonch.

In Sangrama's time (1003 to 1020 A.D.) northern India witnessed a great calamity in the shape of Mahmud Ghazni's looting expeditions. The invader advanced to the very confines of Kashmir but was fortunately prevented from entering the valley by its high mountain walls and an early fall of snow. A number of Shahi princes from the northwest of India who had fled from the onslaughts of Mahmud, however, took refuge in Kashmir and by their evil propensities and intrigues added to the hardships of the people and the difficulties of the rulers.

There is mention of the building of a matha and a vihara in the time of Sangramaraja. The matha was built by the princess royal and the vihara by a councillor. About this time lived the prolific Kashmiri writer Kshemendra. He wrote a number of *Avadanas*, Buddhist legends resembling Brahmanic *Mahatmyas*.

The Shahi princes and noblemen enjoyed great influence in the time of Ananta (1028 to 1063 A.D.) and were a source of great oppression to the people. One of them, Anangapala, who was a favourite of the king was ever planning the breaking of the golden statues of the gods. Another, Rudrapala, patronised murderers and robbers. The Shahi noblemen drew high salaries and at one time Ananta was reduced to such straits that he had to pawn his diadem.

Ananta's pious wife Suryamati made a number of religious foundations and gifts. She founded mathas in the name of her two brothers and husband. She was, however, too fond of her son Kalasa and made the weak Ananta abdicate in his favour.

Kalasa (1063 to 1089 A.D.) proved to be no better than his father. But for a brief spell of good administration during which he made some endowments his rule was also beset with the same difficulties and evils that characterised the reigns of some of his predecessors. He was also a profligate prince and had as many as seventytwo women in his seragilo. Most of these had been procured by a Muslim attendant of his who hailed from the Punjab. Kalasa confiscated the villages which formed the endowments of some temples. He also appropriated the brass images of a number of Buddhist viharas. But in his own town Jayavana (Zevan) he is stated to have erected a number of sacred buildings.

Kalasa's son Harsha was an accomplished prince endowed with many qualities. But a curious transformation seems to have come over him later in his reign when the developed Nero-like propensities. His love of pomp and show and his extravagant expenditure on his troops and favourites led him into financial difficulties. To overcome these he took resort to the despoilation of temples, both Hindu and Buddhist. Kalhana says : "There was not one temple in a village, town or in the city which was not depoiled of its images by that turushka, King Harsa". Of the chief divine images only four were spared. Two of these were Hindu, one in the capital and the other at Martand. The other two were colossal statues of the Buddha which were saved by opportune requests addressed to the king at a time when he was bestowing favours. One of these Buddha images, which was in the city (Srinagar) was spared at the request of the Buddhist *shramana,* Kushalashri and the other which was in Parihasapora, at the request of the singer Kanaka, Kalhana's uncle. According to Taranatha three distinguished teachers of Buddhism, Sakyamati, Shilabhadra and Yashomitra lived in Kashmir in his time. The last-mentioned is stated to have written a commentary or Vasubandhu's *Abhidarmakosha.*

After great oppression and tyranny, during which the country was also visited by a terrible famine, Kashmir was relieved of this manian in 1101 A.D. by the followers of Uchchala who succeeded him.

Uchchala (1101-1111 A.D.) was on the whole a capable and energetic ruler. He tried to win over the people by munificent gifts to Brahmans and the restoration of ruined religious buildings. But he too was not destined to remain on the throne for long. He was assassinated by his enemies after a rule of about eleven years.

After four months of Uchchala's death the throne of Kashmir passed into the hands of his brother Sussala. Sussala's fifteen years' rule was characterised by a succession of internal troubles caused by the uprisings of the powerful *Damaras* (feudal lords) and the pretender Bhikshachara who claimed the throne on the ground of his being a grandson of Harsha. On his assassination in 1128 A.D. he was succeeded by his son Jayasimha.

Jayasimha

In the time of Jayasimha (1128-1154 A.D.) Buddhism in Kashmir once again received a fillip. Jayasimha proved to be a capable ruler who gave to his country much needed peace and good government. By cleverly overcoming the powerful barons he ushered in a period of great prosperity during which the country was able to recover from the wounds inflicted on it in the time of his unworthy predecessors. Kalhana says that in spite of floods and premature showfalls there was a sufficiency of food in the country and the people once against celebrated all the great festivals; the king sharing his treasure with them on such occasions.

Jayasimha was endowed with many good qualities. Politically astute and morally sound, he showed proper regard and consideration to all his loyal subjects. While he was respectful towards the learned and the spiritually advanced he was kind and considerate to the poor and the needy. In his time the capital city which had suffered terribly through fire and disturbances during the time of his predecessors was built anew. For this purpose he permitted the free use of timber in the forests. The king himself restored and repaired the ruined temples and mathas and made permanent endowments for them. He endowed scholars and learned men richly and built houses for them and their offspring.

The king, the queen and the ministers vied with one another in the erection of sacred buildings. In the new town Jayasimhapura (Simpor village situated about five miles to the southeast of Srinagar) Jayasimha built a splendid matha or monastery excelling all the others and endowed it with many villages. His pious wife Ratnadevi made a number of sacred foundations in different towns. The vihara which she built in the town Ratnapura was known as the *Vaikunthamatha.*

A large number of shrines and mathas were built by his ministers Rilhana, dhanya, Jalha, Alamkara, Bhuta and Mankhaka. Udaya, the Commander-in-Chief constructed a number of sacred buildings, including a splendid matha on the shore of the Volur (Wular) Lake. His brother Shringara built a matha, a garden and a tank along the eastern shore of the Dal Lake. Udaya's wife Chinta built a vihara with five chapels on the right bank of the Vitasta. Kalhana bestows high praise on the minister Bhuta who founded the town of Bhuttapura full of viharas and other buildings. The town which has not been identified so far was perhaps in the north of the present-day Srinagar at the foot of the Hari Parbat hill. He seems to have given his name to Bota-kol (Bhuta's stream going from Nagin Lake to Anchar Lake) and the bridge Bota-kadal over it. Alamkara built a number of sacred buildings, bridges and *snanakoshtas* (bathing huts).

Rilhana's saintly wife Sussala built afresh the well-known *Chankunavihara* of which nothing but the name was in existence. Kalhana says that her vihara made the city a joy to look at. A number of structures were raised alongside the vihara. These were intended as residences for students and monks both. After her death her husband Rilhana constructed a vihara in her honour. Another minister Dhanya also founded a vihara known as *Bijjavihara* after his deceased wife.

The settled conditions and prosperity which Jayasimha was able to bring about in his kingdom brought back to it some of its former glory. It once again came to enjoy the respect of its neighbours who sent ambassadors to Srinagar. Among the ambassadors at Jayasimha's court are mentioned two from as far away as Kanauj and Konkan.

Most unfortunately for the country the peace and prosperity which Jayasimha had brought about through great prudence and patient endeavour did not long survive his death. With it the land reverted to the chronic state of decrepitude which had been its lot previous to his reign. For nearly two centuries after him till the rise of Muslim rule we come across no ruler strong or wise enough to consolidate his kingdom.

Jayasimha's Successors

Most of Jayasimha's successors proved to be worthless as rulers. Four of them who came immediately after him, including his son, were downright idiots. The next ruler Jayadeva (1198-1213 A.D.) rooted out many evil laws of the country. But the selfish ministers did not allow him to continue on the throne for long and he was expelled. One of the ministers Gunarahula appears to have been a Buddhist. He joined his master in his exile and persuaded him to return. With Gunarahula's assistance Jayadeva was able to recover his kingdom. But soon after the good king was poisoned by an unscrupulous noble who feigned friendship for him.

5

Ladakh and the People

I

Ladakh, the one big region in India where Buddhism is professed by the people to this day, has till recently been almost a forgotten land, except by daring mountaineers and adventurous explorers and the slow-winding *caravans* on the Central Asian trade route. "Ladakh, in Tibetan *La-tags,* is the most common name; but is also called *Mar-yul* or Low-land or Red-land and *Kha-chan-pa* or Snowland". Fa-Hien called it *Kia-chha* and Hiuen Tsang *Ma-lo-pho.*

Shrouded in a mist of myth and mystery, this land of monks and monasteries rises gracefully from the upper half of the Indus basin. Enclosed within the Western Himalayas and the Karakoram mountains, it embraces the headwaters of the Indus over a distance of about three hundred miles. It has Tibet in the east and Kashmir in the west. In the south it is bounded by the districts of Spiti and Lahul, (Panjab), which once belonged to it, while towards its north, beyond the Karakoram mountains, lie the Chinese districts of Yarkand, Kashgar and Khotan. The north-western portion of Ladakh district is known as Skardu or Baltistan and beyond it lie Chilas, Darel, Gilgit, Hunza, Nagar, Punial, Ishkoman, Yagistan and Chitral.

The territory presents an extremely desolated and barren aspect. Seen from the air it appears to be a succession of dreary wastes and bleak mountains tapering in a number of snow-capped peaks. But a closer view reveals some fertile tracts also, mainly along the river banks.

The district of Ladakh comprises the three *tehsils* of Leh or Ladakh, Kargil and Skardu—the last-mentioned as also the other areas to its west, including Gilgit, are now under the unlawful occupation of Pakistan. Ladakh proper includes the more populous areas around Leh, Nubra in the north and north-west, the lofty upland of Supshu or Rukchu (over 15,000 ft. high) to the east, Zanskar to the south and south-west and beyond it the western areas of Kargil, Suru and Dras on the high-road to Kashmir. Ladakh Tehsil has an area of nearly 30,000 square miles and a population of about 45,000 only.

Ladakh is one of the most elevated regions in the world with people living at elevations from 9,000 to about 15,000 feet above the sea. Many of the mountain peaks in or around Ladakh are well over 24,000 feet in height. These include Nanga Parbat (26,629 ft.), Gasharbrum (26,470 ft.), Masharbrum (25,600 ft.) and Mt. Godwin Austin or K2 (28,265 ft.).

Ladakh suffers from a climate of extremes. In spite of its high altitude the days in summer are very hot—on account of its vast arid tracts and bare mountain ridges. In winter it is very cold, with icy winds blowing in from the neighbouring snowclad mountains. Rainfall is scanty—about 4 inches in the year—and the climate extremely dry. This makes vegetation sparse and scarce and agriculture difficult.

Though Nature has not been kind to them yet the Ladakhis are a cheerful and long-lived people. They are very fond of dancing and *chang*, a kind of intoxicating beer prepared locally. Even the smallest event is for them an occasion for mirth and gaitey. They are one of the friendliest people on earth and their hospitality is proverbial.

Ladakh is inhabited by a peculiar people who call themselves *Bot-pas*. In Kashmir they have long been known as *Bhauttas* or *Botas* and their land as *Botun*. They belong to the same racial stock as the Tibetans and closely resemble them in features. Though not particularly handsome their honest ways and cheerful disposition endear them to all who come into contact with them.

Their religion, Buddhism has conferred upon them many virtues. These include honesty, truthfulness, tolerance and kind heartedness. Crime is practically non-existent in Ladakh. Murder and assault are virtually unknown and thefts are rare. The Ladakhis will not even touch what belongs not to them. Another matter in which these simple, peace-loving people are a model is the way in which they live in peace and amity with their neighbours despite differences in religious faith. Religion with them is a private affair, as indeed it should be. Inter-marriages in families of rival creeds have not been uncommon in Ladakh and Muslims are known to have been appointed to important administrative offices in the Buddhist monasteries.

Curiously enough the Ladakhis do not inter-marry with the Mons, a small sect of people believed to be descended from the missionaries who first preached the Buddhist faith in the country. According to another view they are the descendants of the original inhabitants of the territory. At present the Mons are either carpenters or minstrels and drummers. Most probably they are rated low socially because of being musical performers. Till very recently musical performers were not highly regarded socially in Kashmir and certain other parts of India.

Though from the close of the Karkota rule in Kashmir the Ladakhis have looked to Lhasa for spiritual guidance, yet they have much in common with the people inhabiting the Valley. In fact Buddhism itself went to Ladakh from Kashmir.

Their language Bodhi is closely allied to Tibetan, but its script is more akin to Devanagri than to any other script. And as has already been pointed out the Tibetan character is a modified from of Devanagri which was introduced into that country from Kashmir in the seventh century A.D.

Printing has long been known in Ladakh. several years ago, when most people in Kashmir were quite unaware of what a newspaper was, Ladakh had a newspaper published in the Bodhi language. This first newspaper in Kashmir State was a monthly. Known as the *Ladakh News*, it contained information on current events and geographny. The monthly which had been started by the Moravian Mission in Ladakh in 1903 ceased publication in 1907.

The Ladakhis are a literate people so far as their mother tongue is concerned. But in the matter of other languages like Hindi, Urdu and English they have been very backward.

Their dress is peculiar. The male attire bears a close resemblance to the dress worn by the Kushan rulers of India. The men wear long woollen cloaks, narrow trousers and felt shoes. Their long robes reaching to the ankles are girdled in the middle with a cloth band. The women put on woollen jackets and petticoats of many colours. They also put on sheep-skin jackets with the wool inside. The male head-dress consists of a fur-lined cap with upturned flaps—not dissimilar in appearance to the headgear of Kashmiri sadhus. The Ladakhi women's head-dres consists of what is known as the *perak* in the centre with semicircular woollen lappets covering the ears. The *perak* consists of a piece of red cloth or leather reaching down to the waist in a narrow point. The front part appearing over the forehead resembles the head of a cobra. The *perak* is usually studded with many turquoises and one or two ornaments of gold or silver. Formerly the men also wore pigtails but that practice is now dying out.

The women of Ladakh labour under few legal disabilities. In certain respects they are in a better position than men. If there be no son, the eldest daughter inherits the land. She also inherits the mother's ornaments. Divorce is open to both men and women and widow remarriage is permitted.

The Ladakhis have been a polyandrous people. The system of polyandry has, however, been confined strictly to brothers; the usual number of husbands to a woman being two or three. This cruel system seems to have been forced upon them by their inhospitable country which could not sustain a large population. The rich people here as elsewhere have, however, had more wives than one.

Agriculture is one of the main occupations of the people. Women work alongside their menfolk and at the time of ploughing and harvesting even the children and the aged will lend a helping hand. Often while the men are busy handling the more strenuous part of the work, their women will regale them with full-throated songs and homely dances.

The *zhu,* a cross between the yak and the cow, is usually employed for ploughing the land. *Grim,* a kind of barely is the main crop and is abundantly grown even at a height of 15,000 ft. Wheats, peas, rapeseed, beans and turnips are also grown. A number of fruits including apple, apricot, walnut, mulberry and grapes are grown on the lower warmer regions. The apricots and black currants are dried for export and use in winter. The apricots of Ladakh and Baltistan, popularly known as *bota-chera* in Kashmir, are very tasty. So are the seedless black currants. Fuel wood is scarce in Ladakh; poplar and willow, grown along river banks, are used mostly for building and for basket-making, etc.

Besides its use as a foodgrain *grim* is used in the manufacture of Ladakh's national drink *chang.* Tea, imported from Tibet (in bricks) is also in common use. But it is prepared in a peculiar way. After stewing it for some hours it is mixed up in a special churn with butter, soda and salt. The Ladakhi's staple food consists of *sattu* (flour made from parched *grim*) taken with *chang,* butter, milk or tea. Wheat is also made use of. But rise is a delicacy reversed for special occasions only.

Rainfall being deficient, agriculture has to be carried on through artificial irrigation in this arid and difficult territory. And as the cultivable area in Ladakh is very small it can support only a section of the people. Large numbers of them have, therefore, to look for their livelihood elsewhere. Many of them have taken to sheep breeding and sheep grazing and follow a nomadic life. Known as *Chang-pas,* they live on the uplands of Rupshu in tents made of hides and yak-hair and roam about from place to place with their flocks of sheep and goats.

Ladakh and the adjoining areas have long been known as the sportsman's paradise. They are the home of the markhor, ibex and ovis ammon—all of them with wonderful horns. Other game including red bear, snow leopard, wild horse, Tibetan antelope and gazelle are also met with on the lofty uplands or in the deep ravines. The domestic animals of Ladakh include the pony, sheep, goat, yak, cow and dog. The ponies are used for playing the Ladakhis' national game, polo. In Ladakh and other frontier territories every large village has its own polo ground.

Ladakh is rich in mineral wealth. It is said to contain important minerals including lead, copper, sulphur, coal, iron, borax, gypsum, gold and precious stones. The large quantity of gold-dust which the Indian satrapy on India's north-west paid to the Persian Emperor (before Alexander's invasion) is believed to have been collected from the sands in the rivers of Dardistan.

Ladakh is also a rich storehouse of medicinal and other herbs of great commercial value but industrial enterprise has so far been conspicuous by its absence. The waters of the Indus, however, provide vast possibilities for the generation of electric power and the consequent development of industry.

Ladakh produces its own salt—from the land-locked lakes in the eastern part of the territory. Small quantities of it used to be exported to Skardu and Kashmir. It also expors borax and dried fruits. But the main commercial product is wool, produced in the territory and imported from Yarkand and Tibet. This wool got from the soft underfleece of sheep and goats on high altitudes is one of the finest in the world and from it are made the famous Kashmiri *shawls*.

The Ladakhis are born traders but in recent times trade has largely been in the hands of outsiders. The poor Ladakhi has had to content himself mostly with the transportation of goods and merchandise only. Retail trade is often managed by the women while their menfolk attend to the more strenuous jobs.

Leh, the chief town and headquarters of Ladakhi district, is about 11,500 ft. above the sea level. Lying on the ancient trade routes between Central Asia and India and Tibet and Western Asia, it has for centuries been an important trade centre. Its distance from Srinagar has been computed at about two hundred and forty miles and from Manali in the Punjab at three hundred miles. By mule track the journey from Srinagar takes about a fortnight though air travel has now reduced it to a mere one hour and twenty minutes. The journey to Yarkand from Leh takes a little over three weeks while that to Tibet takes nearly double that time.

Situated as it is about half-way between the markets of India and Central Asia, Leh has been a terminus for caravans from both the regions. In summer it used to be the meeting place of traders from Kashmir, Punjab, Chinese Turkistan, Tibet and even Russia. Here the goods and the produce of the south were exchanged for those of the north—mostly by barter. On account of the difference in climate these traders seldom went beyond Leh and stayed in the place for a month or two before returning to their home countries. Thus they got ample opportunities to learn from and influence each other. It is not difficult, therefore, to understand how from the dawn of history when travelling was difficult and the means of communication few, artistic and cultural traditions of India have travelled in the wake of commercial enterprise and reached as far as Central Asia and China. It was indeed through Ladakh that the later-day Buddhism and its art and cultural traditions passed on from Kashmir to China and Tibet.

II

Fa-Hien in Ladakh

Buddhism has been prevalent in Ladakh from before the beginning of the Christian era. Buddhism was the prevailing faith about 400 A.D. when the Chinese pilgrim Fa-Hien visited it. According to Alexander Cunningham the faith had been introduced into this northern-most region of India in the time of Ashoka. He says that the Ladakhis attributed the spread of Buddhism beyond the Indus to some shramanas who came with sacred books about 243 B.C.

The introduction of Buddhism into Ladakh, as into Kashmir, is commonly attributed to Madhyantika and his fellow monks who were deputed to Kashmir and Gandhara in the time of Ashoka; but this is not correct. As in the case of Kashmir, Buddhism had found its way into Ladakh and the adjoining areas before the time of the great Indian Emperor. Buddhism was one of the living faiths in the Valley in the time of Surrendra. One of the viharas which this first Buddhist ruler of Kashmir erected was at Saurasa, (present-day Suru) beyond the Zojila. Kalhana located this monastery, named *Narendrabhavana*, near the country of Dards. Obviously, Buddhism must either have been prevalent in the territory or was introduced into in it the time of Surrendra to make him found a monastery there. Later, in Ashoka's time, when Buddhism spread widely in Kashmir and other territories it is only reasonable to assume that monks in greater numbers crossed into Ladakh and Gilgit from Kashmir and Gandhara to spread the faith more extensively.

The country Kia-chha mentioned in Fa-Hien's *Fo-Ku-Ki* or Account of Buddhist Kingdoms has been identified with Ladakh by Alexander Cunningham. But some European Sinologists differ from him on this point. Abel Remusat equates it with Kashmir, Kalparoth with Skardu and Samuel Beal with Kartchou. Thomas Watters is also disposed to agree with Kalparoth. More recently Dr. P.C. Bagchi of India has equated it with Kashgar. But that is rather far-fetched. As against this, Cunningham's view identifying Kia-chha with Ladakh or some-place in it is much more plausible.

The existence of trade relations between Khotan, Yarkand and Ladakh over the centuries is well-known. Three important routes across the Karakoram and Kuen Lun mountains connect Ladakh with these northern territories. Cunningham gives details of two such routes. Also—and this is more important—we know it from the Chinese pilgrim himself that he and his companions travelled *west-ward* from Kia-chha for about a month before reaching North India. If Kia-chha were Kashgar, they could not have found themselves in North India after about a month's travel towards the west from Kashgar. Another weighty argument in support of Cunningham's identification is that he was able to trace in Ladakh two important relics of the Buddha mentioned by Fa-Hien in Kia-chha.

Fa-Hien who visited Ladakh or its north-west about 400 A.D. was a native of Wu-yang in the Shansi district of West China. His three elder brothers having died in infancy, his father had vowed to dedicate him to the service of Buddhism if he lived. He, therefore, had him entered as a shramana at the age of three. But after some time when the child was taken dangerously ill his parents at once sent him to the monastery which he refused to leave even when he was well again. Here the devoted himself to the study of Buddhist scriptures. Later, when he had received full monastic orders he was distressed "to observe the imperfect rules of discipline of the monks" in Chang'an. He therefore decided to come to India along with four other monks to secure complete and authentic copies of the *Vinaya-pitaka*.

Fa-Hien came to Ladakh from Khotan. The ruler of the place was then holding the *Pancha-parishad* or the quinquennial assembly, initiated by Ashoka. On such an occasion, the Chinese pilgrim tells us, the king invites shramanas from all quarters. After they are assembled in sufficiently large numbers their meeting place is decorated with silken streamers and canopies are hung out in it. Water-lilies in gold and silver are made and fixed up behind the place where the chief monks are to sit. The other monks are seated on clean mats.

The assembly took place in the first, second or the third month of spring. It lasted about a month at the end of which the king and his ministers made their offerings. These included fine white woollen cloth, (possibly white *pashmina*) and all sorts of precious things. The presentation of these offerings took from one to seven days at the end of which they were redeemed by their owners for some value.

Fa-Hien mentions two relics of the Buddha which he found in Kia-chha. One of them was his spitoon or bowl made of stone and in colour like his alms-bowl. The other was a tooth of the Buddha for which the people had erected a stupa.

Writing in 1853 A.D. Cunningham says "Now, one of these relics (the alms-bowl) still exists in a temple to the north of Le (Leh). It is a large earthenware vase, similar in shape to the largest seatite vases extracted from the Bhilsa topes. But Ladakh also possessed a tooth of the Buddha, which was formerly enshrined at Le in a *dung-ten,* or solid mound of masonry similar to the topes of Bhilsa and Afghanistan. The *dung-ten* still exists, though ruinous, but the holy tooth is said to have been carried away by Ali Sher, of Balti, upwards of 200 years ago, when Ladakh was invaded and plundered by the Musalmans of the west, who most probably threw the much prized relic...into the Indus. At any rate, it has never since been heard of.

The Chinese pilgrim notes that there were more than a thousand monks and their disciples, all students of the Hinayana, connected with the stupa which contained the tooth relic. The shramanas in Ladakh made use of the revolving prayer cylinder and the Chinese pilgrim speaks highly of its efficacy. He also says that the common people's dress in this country was of coarse materials as in his own country, China. But the country, he adds, was mountainous, and so cold that no cereals but wheat could be grown.

III

From Fa-Hien's to Present Times

The early history of Ladakh, like that of most other regions in India, is shrouded in darkness. Alexander Cunningham quotes with approval Moorecroft's view that Ladakh originally formed one of the provinces of Tibet, governed as to temporal matters by an independent prince and in spiritual affairs by the Head Lama of Lhasa. But that does not seem to be correct; at any rate it is certain that for at least the first six centuries of the Christian era Ladakh could not look upon Tibet as its spiritual fountain-head. For, as already noted, Tibet got its Buddhism towards the middle of the seventh century A.D. The faith spread there through the efforts of Indian monks, a large number of whom were Kashmiris. These latter went there through or from Ladakh. Some of the monks might have belonged to Ladakh. Some of the monks might have belonged to Ladakh itself. A Ladakhi monk is known to have been the *guru* of Amritaprabha, the Assamese queen of Meghavahana, who ruled Kashmir towards the middle of the sixth century.

According to Tibetan *Chronicles* Ladakh was included in the domain of Sron-btsan-sgam-po. This first Buddhist ruler of Tibet who ruled in the later half of the seventh century, extended the frontiers of his kingdom to include parts of Nepal and China, and Chinese Turkistan, Gilgit and Ladakh. Tibet was thus brought into contact with Kashmir and it was through Ladakh that the Tibetan scholar, Thonmi Sambhota and his companions came to Kashmir for study.

Tibetan control over Ladakh seems to have lapsed after the death of Sron-btsan-sgam-po. At best it might have continued to pay tribute, thus acknowledging the Tibetan ruler's suzerainty. That Ladakh had not been incorporated into Tibet is clear from the fact that Kalhana draws a clear distinction between the Tibetans and the Bhauttas—inhabitants of Ladakh—when referring to the conquests of Lalitaditya (699-736 A.D.). After the Kashmir ruler's death, Tibetans appear to have re-established their control over Ladakh and there is mention of the erection of a Buddhist temple in Skardu by Khri-lde-btsan-po, the sixth successor of Sron-btsan-sgam-po. Khri-lde-btsan-po ruled towards the later half of the eighth century. His grandfather is reported to have beaten back a Chinese army which tried to reconquer Gilgit. Gilgit was possibly included in Chinese Turkistan before its conquest by Sron-btsan-sgam-po.

Disintegration set in Tibet after the death of the apostate king Glam-darma, and in the time of his grandson, Dpalhkhor-btsan, many areas became independent. Khri-skyid-lde-ni-ma-gon, second son of Dpalhkhorbtsan, was compelled to have Lhasa itself. But with the assistance of a neighbouring chief who gave him his daughter in marriage, he was able to establih his control over Ladakh, Guge and Spurang. Before his death, however, he divided his kingdom among his three sons. Of these the one named Dpal-ge-lde got Ladakh. His nephew

Hkhor-lde it was later renounced his territory (Guge) in favour of his younger brother and achieved high renown as a Buddhist monk under the name of Ye-shes-hod. As already noted, Ye-shes-hod or Gyanaprabha sent Ratnabhadra and twenty other young Tibetans to Kashmir for studies. Ratnabhadra is credited with the erection of a number of beautiful Buddhist temples in Ladakh, Guge and Spiti. One of these is yet to be found in Ladakh—at Alchi, near the bank of the Indus not far from Basgo.

Little is known about Ladakh between the eleventh and the seventeenth centuries A.D. The history of Kashmir also has little light to shed upon this blank in Ladakh's history. Only we learn that rinchana, who succeeded in securing the Kashmir throne in 1320 A.D., was a Bhautta prince (of Ladakh) who had run away from his homeland for fear of his enemies. Muslim rulers of Kashmir never penetrated far into the northern regions; only a few of their commanders appear to have achieved some minor successes in border clashes with the troops of their northern neighbours. But we know that the people of Ladakh also were subjected to great oppression when in 1533 A.D., Mirza Haider Dughlat invaded the Valley of Kashmir. The invader has himself recorded[1] that he was responsible for such butchery and bloodshed in the Nubra Valley that thereafter nobody dared offer any resistance to him in the rest of the territory (Ladakh).

With Chovang-Namgyal in the last quarter of the sixteenth century we reach the *terra-firma* of Ladakh's chequered history. Chovang-Namgyal, a descendant of the ancient kings of Tibet, set himself up as the ruler of Ladakh about 1580 A.D. His conquests which included Rudok, the western district of Tibet, brought him much wealth. With this he erected a big image of the Buddha. The consecration of the image was celebrated as a great festival when all the people made their offerings to it. Chovang-Namgyal intended to put up a few more sacred images but was prevented from doing so by his death about the end of the sixteenth century.

As Chovang died issueless, he was succeeded by his brother

Jamya Namgyal. The new ruler and some of his principal followers were taken prisoner in Purik, a petty principality corresponding to present-day Kargil, when soon after his accession they had gone there to punish its rebel chief who had transferred his allegiance to Ali Mir; Gyalpo (Raja) of Balti. The Ladakh ruler and his followers were taken prisoner not because of a defeat in battle but because of a violent storm which overtook them in Purik. He was sent to Skardu while his troops were allowed to go back to Ladakh.

"Ali Mir, the ruler of Skardo, taking advantage of the helpless state of the country, immediately marched upon Le (Leh) with a large force and took possession of the whole of Ladakh. The temples and monasteries were burned, the images of the Buddha and of his various personified emanations were destroyed by the bigoted Mohammedans; and all the religious and historical books were thrown into the Indus. The conquest was complete; and arrangements having been made for the future government of Ladakh, Ali Mir marched back to Skardo."

Ali Mir appears to have been a sagacious ruler. His conquest of Ladakh seems to have convinced him of the impossibility of retaining that extensive territory for long. Immediately upon his return he, therefore, released Jamya Namgyal and gave him one of his daughters in marriage.

Jamya, whose return back to his territory with the daughter of his enemy as his wife was a matter of rejoicing for his subjects restored some of the temples and images of the Buddha. He got copies of some of the sacred books from Tibet.

Singge Namgyal who succeeded him about 1620 A.D. was one of his two sons by the Balti princess. He was a powerful ruler who not only carried out successful raids into the neighbouring areas but inflicted a crushing defeat on Ahmed Khan, chief of Balti, who with the assistance of the Moghul Emperor, Jehangir, tried to invade Ladakh in his time. He also reduced some of the neighbouring territories which had thrown off Ladakh's yoke on receipt of information about Ladakh's invasion by Ahmed Khan. Of these, the Tibetan province of

Rudok, which had been conquered by his uncle, was now annexed. Cunningham says that flushed with success, Singge next thought of attacking Lhasa itself and when he had advanced about half-way to the Tibetan capital he was met by a deputation with several mule-loads of gold, silver, tea and other articles as peace offering. Thereupon he consented to evacuate the occupied territory. Later he is stated to have taken possession of a number of districts including Spiti in the Panjab.

Singge Namgyal is perhaps the greatest indigenous ruler that Ladakh has ever known. His rule is generally placed between 1620 and 1670 A.D. During his reign Ladakh was visited by a monk, named Staktshang Raspa, who had travelled through many countries including Kashmir. He erected an image of Chamba or Maitreya Buddha in Timosgam, a village on the right bank of the Indus a little below Leh. At the time of its consecretion he gave away in alms all that he possessed and appointed five monks for the performance of daily *puja*. Singge himself restored the various Buddhist images and shrines. He is also credited with the building of a nine-storeys high palace which to this day remains the most conspicuous building in Leh.

Singge's son and successor Deldan Namgyal was a zealous Buddhist. He is credited with having put up a large image of gold and silver in the village Shay near Leh and the erection of a number of Buddhist temples in the various districts, including Zanskar. In the fort at Leh he erected two sacred images, those of Chamba and Chanrazik, corresponding to Maitreya and Avalokiteshvara and appointed several priests for their daily worship.

Deldan also overcame all his adversaries, including the chiefs of Karchu and Balti, who had the military assistance of the Moghul governor of Kashmir. The two chiefs thereafter became tributary to Ladakh. But Ladakh itself was invaded by Sokpos, (Sakas according to Cunningham and Kalmak Tartars according to Moorecroft) soon after. When the Ladakhi forces found it impossible to overcome the cruel invaders, Deldan sought military assistance from Ibrahim Khan, a Moghul governor of Kashmir in the time of Aurangzeb. With this assistance the Ladakhis were successful in driving out the invaders. In the following year the Sokpos returned and destroyed part of the fort at Leh. They, however, agreed to go away when Rudok was made over to them. This settlement is stated to have been brought about by a monk named Brug-pa-Pham-Bang-po.

To secure military assistance from the Muslim governor of Kashmir, Deldan appears to have feigned acceptance of the Islamic faith but once the invaders were driven out, he again openly professed the ancestral faith. He, however, had a mosque—the first in Ladakh—built at Leh.

His son Delak, in whose favour he abdicated, ruled from 1705 to 1740 A.D. In his time the district of Spiti which had perhaps been lost in the time of his father was reannexed. Towards the end of his reign Ladakh was successfully invaded by Murad, the chief of Balti who ruled from 1720 to 1750 A.D. The Ladakhis were not long in retaliating. They invaded Balti in the time of Ali Sher, father of the last independent ruler of the territory.

Ladakh, which continued to pay tribute to Kashmir from the time of Deldan Namgyal was conquered in 1834 A.D. by Dogra troops ably led by Raja Gulab Singh's great general, Zorawar Singh. The Dogra troops who had entered the frontier regions from Kishtwar soon extended their master's sway over Baltistan also.

The success which Zorawar Singh achieved in Ladakh and Baltistan led him to the ill-fated invasion of Tibet in 1841 A.D. in which both he and large numbers of his followers perished.

Kashmir came into Maharaja Gulab Singh's possession in 1846 A.D. In the time of his son and successor, Maharaja Ranbir Singh, Gilgit and the adjoining areas were added to the State of Jammu and Kashmir and thereafter the history of Jammu, Kashmir, Ladakh and Gilgit becomes one, till we reach the fateful year 1947 when the State was the victim of unprovoked aggression from Pakistan and parts of it were occupied by that country.

Ladakh and the other frontier regions did not receive much attention at the hands of the first three Dogra rulers. On account of their distance from the capital and the difficulties and dangers involved in reaching them the frontier regions were treated as a kind of an appanage by the officials deputed to govern them. Besides the annual tribute and taxes for their master, they collected a rich harvest of gold, carpets, *namdas*, etc., for themselves, thus giving rise to the mistaken notion that Ladakh and the adjoining regions were fabulously rich.

Though it is said that some of the monasteries in Ladakh did not escape pillage at the hands of the Dogra victors,—the troops under Zorawar Singh are stated to have plundered some Tibetan monasteries also—yet it must be conceded that Dogra rule conferred full religious liberty and security on the people of the State including those inhabiting the frontier regions. People of Ladakh and Baltistan had no longer to live in dread of each other or their western neighbours. Another advantage of Dogra rule was that the regions gradually opened up to the outside world.

Early in Maharaja Ranbir Singh's time, (1857-1885 A.D.), Ladakh and the other frontier areas of Kashmir State attracted the active attention of the British authorities in India. This was because in the sixties of the last century, part of Sinkiang or Chinese Turkistan declared its independence under one Yakub Beg who concluded a treaty with Russia. The British Government immediately set about devising measures to check the growth of Russian influence in this vital area in the north of their Indian Empire.

Reference has already been made to Indo-Central Asian trade and cultural relations through Ladakh in ancient times. With the declaration of its independence by Chinese Turkistan in the last century, the people of that country began to look to Russia in the north and to India in the south for the supply of those goods which were not locally produced. Yakub Beg, in his treaty with Russia, had agreed to a substantial exemption on all Russian imports into his country. On the contrary, the transit duty on Indo-Central Asian trade levied in Kashmir was found to be rather discouraging for its growth. Early in May 1870 A.D. the British Indian Government, therefore, entered into a treaty with the Kashmir Durbar under which no transit or other duty was to be charged, in Kashmir, on goods passing from India to Central Asia and vice versa along the route over the 16,500 foot Khardung Pass. In return for this concession the Indian Government undertook to refund the import duty on bonded goods entering Kashmir and to abolish the export duty on shawls.

Though Sinkiang did not retain its independence for long yet the trade over the Khardung La route, designated the Treaty High Road, continued and every year caravans from Yarkand and Kashgar came to Ladakh with their consignments of carpets, namdas, shawl wool, coarse cotton, borax, salt and gold and ponies to exchange them for sugar, spices, cotton prints, brocades, shawls and saffron from Kashmir or India. This trade provided employment to the poor people in Ladakh and Baltistan for they were employed as coolies for the carriage of merchandise and the maintenance of the road. In fact the treaty of 1870 itself stipulated that villages on the route would supply labour and baggage ponies at cheap rates to the traders. This in course of time developed into an oppressive system of forced labour known as *Res*[2].

In the time of Maharaja Pratap Singh, (1885-1925 A.D.), which saw the beginnings of a modern administration in Jammu and Kashmir, Ladakh continued to be a neglected backwater of the State. As in the time of his two predecessors little was done for the economic, social or educational advancement of the people. The result was that the people of Ladakh and the other frontier regions came to be one of the most backward people, steeped in ignorance, superstition, squalor and poverty.

Though it is a fact that little was done for the development of Ladakh and its people yet it would be wrong to assume that the rules of the first three Dogra rulers were altogether devoid of significance for the people of Ladakh. As already noted, the territory began to open up, the unknown land began to be better known, not only to outsiders but also to people in the Valley, some of whom went there on petty assignments. Also a new link between Kashmir and Ladakh came into existence in the time of Maharaja Ranbir Singh and his sons.

Ranbir Singh who was an enlightened prince revived the traditions of Avantivarman and Zain-ul-Abidin. He took steps to obtain ancient texts and employed a number of capable pandits and *moulvis* to transliterate or translate them. Dr. Stein has catalogued nearly five thousand of the works collected by the Maharaja. His sons, Ram Singh and Amar Singh, respectively collected 2,000 and 1,325 works. References has already been made to the *Brha-Nila-tantram,*[3] the *Nirvana-tantra* and the *Tara Rahasya* among these. Another interesting work in Raja Amar Singh's collection is the *Kakshaputa or Rasa-Ratnakara* of Nagarjuna.

The rediscovery of the ancient heritage of Kashmir and the researches of eminent research scholars like Prof. Buhler and Dr. Aurel Stein—especially the latter's English translation of the *Rajatarangini*—made the people of Kashmir realise that their motherland had in the past been a stronghold of Buddhism, the faith which was still prevalent in Ladakh. This brought the people of the two regions nearer and some Kashmiri Pandit youngmen began to take active interest in the Buddhists of Ladakh and the amelioration of their lot.

Reference

1. See Waddell's *The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism*.

2. In response to widespread public demand the obnoxious *Res* systemh as been abolished.

3. The *Brha-Nila-tantram* and some other works were edited in the time of Maharaja Hari Singh by the Kashmiri scholars Ramchandra Kak, Hara Bhatta Shastri and Madhusudan Koul.

IV

Lamas and Gumpas

Ladakh, like Tibet, is known as the land of lamas. Lamaism, as the form of Buddhism prevalent in Ladakh is sometimes known, is a combination of the Mahayana and tantrism, not unmixed with traces of Bon, the ancient religion of Tibet. Besides Shakya Thuba or the Buddha, the people in Ladakh worship Jamya (Manjushri), Chanrazik (Avalokiteshvara), Maitreya (the future Buddha), Grolma (Tara), Padma Pani and Vajra Pani.

Religion is a dominating factor in the life of the simple, unsophisticated Ladakhis and monks and nuns are fairly numerous. The monks and nuns are known as *lamas* and *chomos* respectively and the monasteries as *gumpas*.

Most families in Ladakh dedicate a child to the brotherhood of priests. Sometimes it is the first-born or the favourite child, but more often it is the younger sons who are not entitled to share the patrimony or their elder brothers' wife that are earmarked for priestly life. While the law of primogeniture is responsible for sending many younger sons to the monasteries, a girl is dedicated to the sangha only when a family has no son or cannot spare one. The cruel system of polyandry may also have something to do in condemning some girls to spinsterhood. But the number of nuns is far less than that of monks.

The nuns usually pass their days quietly under the parental roof. But those not wanted there join the nunneries. The male children dedicated to the service of the faith, however, live with their parents only till they are about eight years of age. Later they join the monasteries where they receive a new name. Before ordination they have, however, to pass through the stages of pupil and probationer. The principal monks round off their education with a visit of Lhasa which is looked upon as their spiritual fountain-head by the Ladakhis. They regard the Dalai Lama as the Vice-regent of the Buddha on earth and most of the *Kushoks* or Head Lamas of monasteries in Ladakh are appointed by him or with his approval. About half a dozen Kushoks are believed to reincarnate themselves and after death they are searched for in the same manner as the Dalai Lama in Tibet.

After the establishment of Muslim rule in Kashmir, the people of Ladakh came to look more and more to Lhasa for spiritual guidance and although the territory was independent, both the ruler and the people, out of respect, made offerings of the Head Lama there. These offerings have wrongly been interpreted as political tribute by some people—most probably because in Tibet the temporal and spiritual powers both vest in the Head Lama. Even Cunningham admits that Ladakh's political dependence on Tibet was more nominal than real.

The lamas form a picturesque element in the country's population. Most of them wear red robes resembling dressing gowns, girdled with a red band. The lamas generally put on red or yellow caps, but in summer months many of them go about with their closely shaven heads uncovered.

Both monks and nuns are divided into two sects—the Red and the Yellow. Members of the Yellow Sect enjoy a higher reputation for asceticism and learning than their Red brethren. The latter, however, are more numerous than the former. During recent years the Red Sect has also begun to tighten its discipline.

The Red Sect in Ladakh, as in tibet, regards Padma Sambhava as its guru and founder. The yellow Sect, on the other hand, gives the highest place to the Tibetal reformer Tson-kha-pa. Tson-kha-pa who lived in the fourteenth century instituted a stricter code of discipline. His followers are forbidden to marry or to drink wine.

Priestly life confers many pivileges but the monks and nuns are required to lead strictly disciplined lives and mostly remain unmarried. Through the two live apart yet they frequently come into contact with one another. The nuns willingly undertake household duties like cooking, washing, etc., in the monasteries.

The lamas constitute such an essential element in the life of the people that social and religious life would be impossible without them. They are their teachers, physicians, priests and astrologers. The more important among them, the Kushoks, are looked upon as their spiritual preceptors by the people and both on this account and on account of their learning, piety and kind-heartedness, they command great respect. The

Kushok's visit to a village is an event. He is accorded a big welcome with bands playing and the people—men, women and children—standing on either side of the route to receive his benediction. In the village people make offerings to him—both in cash and kind.

Even the smallest village has its own monastery and lamas. Also in Buddhist houses in Ladakh, as in most Hindu houses in Kashmir, a room is set apart for worship. In this well-kept room are placed beautiful images of the Buddha and the other gods to whom worship is offered daily by reciting hymns and mantras and by turning the prayer-cylinder. Besides floral offerings, lights and incense are burned. So great is the devotion of the Ladakhis to their religion that when they go on a long journey they invariably carry some religious text of the other on their person. This is believed to ensure safety.

The monasteries or gumpas are well endowed and their extensive estates comprise some of the most fertile tracts of land in the territory. But the people at large do not look upon them as an agency of exploitation like the *zamindars* and *jagirdars*. This is party due to their religious sentiments but mainly because the institution of lamas is not hereditary and confined to a selected few. The lamas generally do not marry and everybody is free to become a lama. The monastic order in Ladakh comprises the most-loved and the unwanted members from most of the families in the territory.

It is therefore not surprising that when the Inquiry Committee headed by the Chief Justice of Jammu and Kashmir State visited Ladakh in the year 1953 to make an on-the-spot study of various measures taken by the State Government, it was represented to it both by proprietors and tenants that lands attached to the gumpas should be excluded from the operation of the Big Landed Estates Abolition Act. The Committee, known after its chairman Mr. Justice Jankinath Wazir, as the Wazir Committee, observes on pages 30 and 31 of its *Report:*

"It was rather surprising that the tenants who were likely to gain by the operation of the Act on the lands attached to the gumpas have unanimously desired that these lands should remain attached to the gumpas and be free fromthe operation of he Abolition Act. It was specially enquired from them why they were in favour of the retention of the land with the gumpas. Their reply was that the lands which were attached to the gumpas were cultivated by the tenants and they had to pay only one-fourth of the produce to the gumpas. The gumpas' share of produce was utilised for educational, religious and charitable purposes and for feeding the poor and the needy and, therefore, they would like that the gumpas should not be divested of these lands."

The large-scale membership of the monasteries coupled with the possession of vast properties by them has necessitated a broad division of the monks into two categories, *viz.*, Those that attend to the temporal needs of the community and the others who do not concern themselves with worldly matters but devote their time to meditation and worship. The former cultivate the land, collect the rent from monastery tenants, wander about from place to place to collect alms and engage themselves in cattle breeding, trade, etc., and keep the accounts. The spiritual monks, as the latter may be called, are, besides looking after the education and training of the monks in the monastery, required to perform the puja and organise festivals, plays and dances.

The gumpas or monasteries are the most conspicuous buildings in Ladakh. The word gumpa signifies a solitary place and in this connection it may bre remembered that the monasteries were originally intended to be built in places far from the bustle and disturbing influences of the cities. Perched on high cliffs, they look both picturesque and impressive. Though somewhat difficult of access, a visit to one of them is a rewarding experience. They all contain exquisite images of the Buddha and some of the other gods of the Buddhist pantheon. The images inside some of the gumpas are of such colossal dimensions that one wonders how they were made and carried to the lofty pinancles on which many of the gumpas stand.

The path leading to the gumpas is lined with *chhoskhor* or prayer cylinders and in the neighbourhood of some of the more influential monasteries stand edifices known as *kaganis*. These letter are constructed of brick and plastered over the painted. The prayer cylinder is an ingenious device for multiplying a man's prayers. Made of metal, they are filled with scrolls of prayers and charms. As a devotee walks into the gumpa he sets them in rotation with a gentle motion of the hand, believing that in doing so he is sending to heaven prayers equal to the number of prayers inside the cylinder, multiplited by the total number of rotations. Some of the cylinders are worked by water power. The lamas always carry with them a prayer cylinder which they keep constantly rotating.

The prayer cylinder has a very long history. It is first mentioned in Fa-Hien's account of his travels. As already stated, he found it in the hands of the shramanas of Kia-chha or Ladakh. The prayer cylinder has also been found on the coins of the Kushan ruler Hushka who lived about two hundred years before Fa-Hien.

The gumpas are spacious buildings. In addition to the main prayer halls and chapels they contain scores of rooms for the lamas to live in. Inside the chapel are placed beautiful images of Maitreya and other gods to whom worship is offered a number of times during the day. A butter-fed wick-lamp is kept constantly burning in it. The walls of the chapel and other rooms in the monastery are decorated with beautiful paintings and costly tapestries. The monastery walls are surmounted with a large number of prayer flags.

The most famous and by all accounts the oldest and the wealthiest monastery in Ladakh is the Hemis Gumpa. Situated about twentytwo miles to the south-east of Leh it belongs to the Red Sect of lamas. The monastery which houses hundreds of lamas is now connected with Leh by a jeepable road. Earlier, one had to do the distance from Leh either on foot or on horseback.

Another important monastery is to be found at Lama yuru, about sixty miles from Leh. The monastery built on the low hills at the far end of a high valley consists of a large number of buildings and contains a colossal image of Chanrazik (Avalokiteshvara) with eleven heads and a thousand hands. A similar big image of the god is to be found in Shankar Gumpa near Leh. This gumpa, belonging to the Yellow Sect, also houses a gorgeous representation of a Buddhist goddess with "a thousand arms and legs and a thousand eyes." Shankar Gumpa is perhaps the only monastery in Ladakh which is built on a level plain. Besides other images, this gumpa contains a number of statuettes of the Tibetan reformer, Tson Khapa.

By far the biggest image—of the Buddha—in Ladakh is to be found in the Shay Gumpa about eight miles from Leh. The image put up by Deldan Namgyal is made of copper and is covered with gold leaf. Its height is estimated to be 40 feet while its head is about 8 feet broad. The statue is perfectly proportioned and exudes an atmosphere of peace and solemnity. Tsemo Gumpa rising behind the old palace at Leh houses a huge image of Chamba (Maitreya Buddha). The image is a model of symmetry and the aestatic expression in its eyes is simply bewitching. One of the gumpas at Basgo also houses a gigantic image of Champa.

Images studded with gold and silver and set with gems are to be met with in some other monasteries also. These and the marvellous paintings and scrolls which adorn the walls of the monasteries testify to the high artistic skill of the people of this barren land in the domains of sculpture and painting.

Some of the other notable monasteries are Spituk, four miles from Leh, Rezong, thirtysix miles from Leh and Deskit and Samur or Samstanling in the Nubra Valley.

Besides the gumpas the two other structures which immediately attract attention on entering a Ladakhi village are the *chortens* and the *manis*. The *chorten* which seems to have been derived from the word Chaitya, now houses part of the ashes of some important personage. The Ladakhis believe that a good man after death is raised to the dignity of a *lhamayin* or demi-god while the bad man goes down to the state of a brute. After cremation part of the dead man's ashes are mixed with clay and moulded into a small image or cake which is stamped with an image of the Buddha. This image or tablet is them placed, along with extracts from sacred texts, in the peculiar pagoda-like structure known as chorten. In height the chortens vary from a few feet to about 50 feet.

The manis are massive stone walls, about 6 or 7 feet in height, with the top sloping down from the centre towards either side. They are from 6 to 10 feet broad but their length varies from a few feet to over a thousand feet. Cunningham has recorded that a mani he saw at Basgo measured nearly half a mile in length. A direct descendent of Ashoka's edicts, the flat-stoned surfaces of these prayer walls bear carvings and inscriptions. The former include beautiful images of the Buddha and the other gods and designs of mystic figures and the latter the well-known *mantras "Om Mani Padma Hum", "Om Vajra Pani Hum"*, etc., repeated hundreds or thousands of times. Some of them have whole books carved on them. The manis are found not only near the villages but also at places where no one lives. The devout walk round them whenever they happen to pass them, believing that they are thus adding to their prayers by the number of the mantras inscribed on them.

A visitor to Ladakh by the overland route first comes across manis, chortens and gumpas at the village of Shergol, eighteen miles from Kargil. Three miles from here, at Moulbeck, is found a colosal image—eighteen feet high—of Chamba (Maitreya Buddha) carved on the face of a perpendicular rock. It is said that once when Ladakh was invaded by Muslims, the Buddhists hid it from them by erecting buildings and walls all around it. The statue now stands forth majestically, with its four arms, earrings, necklaces and bracelets.

Besides containing the sacred images and the holy texts of the Buddhists of Ladakh the gumpas are the repositories of the best in Ladakh's art and culture. The lamas, at any rate those high up in the hierarchy, are models of conduct. Their learning, tolerance, self-abnegation and love of fellow beings are an example to others. Their hospitality is proverbial and their sympathy for the poor and the needy well-known.

In addition to exquisite images of the Buddha and the other members of the Buddhist pantheon, the gumpas contain exquisite works of Ladakhi art. These comprise paintings, tapestries, murals and metal work. Spon Rigzon is perhaps the best Ladakhi painter of modern times and he has painted various scenes of the Buddha's life in a number of gumpas. Writing about a painting which was presented to him during his visit to Ladakh in 1952, Shri Yuvraj Karan Singh, *Sadr-e-Riyasat* of Jammu and Kashmir says :

"It depicts Lord Buddha sitting in the Lotus posture. It is a work the like of which I have never seen. The detail is exquisite and the colours wonderfully smooth and meelow. The whole composition is so perfect that one can hardly credit its creation to this isolated and untutored race of men. I met the artist himself, an old man over seventy."

Like the Tibetans, the Ladakhis are also good modellers in clay and workers in metal. Their intricate work in metal is found on the various pots and utensils required for puja in the monasteries.

The gumpas are also the places where the famous mystery palys of Ladakh are staged. Every monastery celebrates its own festival, which, in addition to the performance of the customary puja, is an occasion for music, dance and drama. The *mela* of the Spituk Gumpa falls in the middle of January while that at Shay in the beginning of August. At the Shay festival offerings to the god consist of the first ears of corn grown on the land of landowners.

The Hemis festival in honour of Padma Sambhava is the most famous festival in Ladakh. Held in the month of June, it attracts large numbers of people from the outlying villages and some people from outside Ladakh also. The mystery play, interspersed with dance, enacted on this occasion represents the fight of the forces of Evil and Good, with the latter triumphing in the end. The actors are lamas dressed in elaborate brocade costumes. Some of them use great black hats crowned with images and others were masks of animals, skeletons, etc. The orchestra on the occasion comprises giant trumpets, cymbals, drums and clarinets.

The puja performed on the occasion of this and the other festivals is looked upon as a safeguard against possible calamities on the land and its people.

Just as we have seen in the case of the people of Ladakh so in the case of their lamas, we come across no narrow spirit of exclusivism or parochialism. They freely associate with one another and participate in each other's festivals. Kushok Bakula, the Head Lama of the Yellow Sect is known to have presided over the celebrations at the Red Sect monastery of Hemis. There are, in fact, occasions when lamas from most of the gumpas gather together in one monastery to worship and recite the sacred texts known as *Skab-bgyur* and *Stan-bgyur*. *Skab-bgyur* and *Stan-bgyur*, also known as *Kanjur* and *Tanjur*, consists of 108 volumes and 225 volumes respectively.

6

Kashmir—Ancient and Modern

I

Kashmir fortunately possess an ancient history, and a civilisation more ancient than our own. There are many legends of prehistoric times when the Vale of Kashmir was a vast lake.

Here is one of their legends.

According to the earliest traditional account this lake occupied the place of Kashmir Valley. A demon called Jallodbhava (water-born) resided in this lake. This demon caused great distress to all the neighbouring countries by his devastations. At last Kashyapa Muni implored Shiva to help him to kill the demon. His prayer was granted, and he succeeded in getting the demon killed, with the help of the gods, near Kaunsarnag. Shiva made an exit near Baramulla with his trident, the water rushed out and the land thus produced became inhabitable.

At first men dwelt in it for six months only in the year and left Kashmir for the six months of winter, when it was occupied by peshachas (demons).

Ultimately the people, through Nilanga's favour, got rid of these demons, on condition that the people performed certain rites and ceremonies for the good of these demons, during winter months, and thus the country became inhabitable throughout the year. These rites are still performed by the Hindus of Kashmir. They are :

1. *Kechi Mavas.*—It occurs in the month of January. A sort of pudding, or polao, is cooked, and in an earthen tray is placed in the middle of the compound for the demons. A line is drawn round the whole house with time. It is believed that these demons have no power to step over this magical line.

2. *Gada Bata.*—The Hindus cook rice and fish in the dark fortnight of January. A big bowl full of rice and fish, both cooked and uncooked, is placed in the uppermost storey of the house. A lamp is kept burning and no one is allowed to sleep in that place. The cats generally enjoy a good feast. In the morning the members of the family go up to inspect the place, and they are satisfied to see the bowl empty, thinking it has been taken by the demons.

3. *Kawa punim.*—This ceremony is generally performed in the month of February. Rice is cooked and formed into balls. These balls of rice are placed i a kind of big spoon made of twigs and grass, and are put in a prominent place in the house for the goblins in the shape of crows. The children recite this lullaby : "Come ! O you crows which are very fond of pudding; bathe in the waters of Gangabal; put on a teka of brown clay, bring your she-crows with you, perch yourselves on the eaves of our houses and enjoy a good feast."

Geological observations prove the former existence of a great lake. The lacustrine deposits are undoubtedly found in the karewa palteaux everywhere. Ancient Kashmir has long been under the sway of various bona fide rajas. The first raja that appears on the pages of documentary tradition is Adgonand, who ascended the throne in 4249 B.C., at a time when Egypt was ruled by demigods. He was succeeded by his son Danudar, who was killed by the Yadhus, the tribe to which Krishna belonged.

Buddhism was introduced into Kashmir by Asoka in 308 B.C. The founder of this religion was Sakhi Muni Gautam, later on called Buddha. He was a prince of a secluded kingdom near Nepal, and lived about the time of the "Captivity of the

Jews." Raja Jaluki, the grandsom of Asoka and the conqueror of Bacteria, spread this faith all over the country. Buddhist missionaries were sent to India to teach them "The Way."

The tartars invaded the valley about the commencement our era. Three of their kings are supposed to have ruled simultaneously. They are : Hushka, who founded Auskhar near Badgam; Zashka, who founded Zukar near the Nasim Bagh, and Kanishka, who founded Kanspur. These kings were very popular in Kashmir.

Kashmir was under the rule of white Huns during the first half of the sixth century, about the time of the conquest of England by the Saxons. Their king, Meharakula, was notorious for his cruelty and violence. Buddhism declined during the time of Shankracharya in the eighth century.

The Mohammedan advantures began to invade the country in the beginning of the eleventh century. Mahmud of Ghuzni invaded Kashmir in 1015, via Tosa Maidan, but was repulsed by the Kashmir troops. The famous historian Albruni was present with Mahmud. The first Mohammedan king of Kashmir was Renchan Shah, who ascended the throne in 1341. He was a Tibetan, and had come to Kashmir in childhood. He wanted to become a Hindu, but the Brahmans would not admit him to their religion, so he was forced to receive the tenets of Islam from a Mohammedan fakir named Bulbul Shah, whose ziarat is still in existence, and a part of the city, Bulbul Lanker, is still called after his name. Renchan Shah afterwards forced the haughty Brahmans to become Mohammedans. This Renchan Shah was a contemporary of Edward III of England.

From the time of Renchan Shah up to the time of Sultan Qutub-ud-Din Kashmir enjoyed considerable peace. During the reign of this sultan, in A.D. 1395, Syid Ali Hamdani, commonly called Shah Hamdan, arrived in Kashmir. This man had fled from Hamdan, a town in Persia, to save himself from the hands of the Moghul Emperor Tumerlane. The story of this event is thus briefly told :

Tumerlane, like many Oriental monarchs, was in the habit of going round his capital cities at night, in disguise, in order to find out for himself the condition of his subjects and their opinion about him.

One night he stood outside the house of a very poor man. His children were weeping for want of food and his wife was in a very miserable condition. In her plight she implored her husband to go out and beg food for the children, but the man, being a respectable persons, was unwilling to beg. Tumerlane, overhearing their conversation, was sorry for them, and quietly threw a few gold mohurs into the house.

In the morning the woman of the house was overjoyed to find the pieces of gold lying on the floor. Her husband bought some food and fed his children, his wife and himself.

His neighbours, seeing them eating good food, guessed that they might have stolen the money. They brought a charge of theft against this poor man, and being Syids—i.e. descendants of Ali, the son-in-law of the Prophet—they would have very easily succeeded in getting him punished and tortured. But happily the King came to know about this so-called theft; so he summoned both the parties before him. The accused told him the whole truth, which of course the King knew himself. The Syids contradicted his statement, and declared on oath that they had really been robbed of the money. The King was furious, and he ordered a horse of seven metals to be made. He made it red-hot and ordered all the Syids to ride it in order to prove that they were truly Syids, because according to Mohammedan tradition fire cannot harm the Syids. In this way those Syids who obeyed the order of the King were burnt to death, and those who disobeyed him were killed by his soldiers. But Syid Ali Hamdani managed to escape this ordeal, and he fled to Kashmir. It was through his and his son's instigation that the Hindus of Kashmir were ruthlessly persecuted by Qutub-ud-Din and his successor, Sikandar the Idol Breaker. Hundreds were converted to Islam by force, hundreds of those who refused were put to the sword. Sikandar destroyed all their sacred places and monuments of historical importance. With the mateiral he built mosques and ziarats in various places. Shah Hamdan is believed to be a great saint by the

Sunni Mohammedans of Kashmir, and his ziarat, which was originally built by Qutub-ud-Din, is still seen below the Third Bridge, in the city.

Sikandar's son, Ali Shah, who ascended the throne in 1435, and who was the contemporary of Henry VI. of England, completed the work of destruction which his father had undertaken. During his reign hundreds of Hindus committed suicide. Scores set fire to their own houses and burnt themselves and their families alive, and many drowned themselves in different wells to save their dharma (religion). Some tried to escape with their children to foreign countries, but their movements were watched and the passes were guarded, so they killed themselves by throwing themselves over precipices.

Those who were left to their fate and were still alive enjoyed some respite during the reign of Ali Shah's son, Zain-ul-Abidin. He was a good and humane ruler. It was he who induced the Hindus to study Persian and accept Government posts. So during his time the Hindu community was split into two sections—those who accepted Government posts and those who still clung to their own shastras. The former, from that time, were called Karkuns (Government servants) and the latter Peruhets (priests). It was Zain-ul-Abidin who introduced the art of weaving Kashmir shawls and making paper. Up to his time the Hindu scribes used to write their scriptures on birch-bark.

From his time to the time of Akbar the Great, Kashmir was ruled by different Mohammedan kings, both native and foreign. During their rule the poor Hindus, the victims of their wrath, were more or less harassed and embarrassed. They pillaged their houses, oppressed them without scruple and insulted them without compunction. Akbar was the contemporary of "Queen Bess" of England. He conquered Kashmir in 1587. He built the wall round Hari Parbat Hill in the city. Throughout the Mogul period the Hindus enjoyed some security of person and property. They were entrusted with high Government posts. It was Akbar who was pleased with their erudition and intelligence and gave them the surname of Pandits (learned men).

During the reign of his son Jahangir, who laid out many lovely gardens and villas in Kashmir, the Subadar of this place was enamoured by the beauty of a Hindu girl. When he could not obtain her consent without making trouble he had resource to a cleaver trick, as he thought. He persuaded an Old Mohammedan woman to appear veiled before his court and she, personating the aforesaid Hindu girl, professed her love for the Subadar and was ready to marry him, but was prevented by her father under the influence of his co-religionists. The Subadar obtained a rewayet (order) from the mullahs permitting him to marry the girl without her father's consent. He then sent troops to the house of the innocent girl to seize her by force and bring her to his harem. His orders were promptly executed. The father of the girl was a discreet person. He made no fuss but, through his daughter, requested the Subadar to wait for six months, which he readily agreed to, from the fear of the King. Meanwhile her father quietly set out for Agra, to Jahangir. When he reached the palace he rang the bell which Jahangir had attached to his private chambers and told the Emperor the whole story of this villainy. Jahangir, ease-loving as he was, at once mounted his famous dromedary and, attended by a few of his bodyguard, journeyed to Kashmir in disguise. When he reached Srinagar he went straight to the house of the Mohammedan woman who had personated the Hindu girl, and pretending to be a foreigner, and giving her some pieces of gold to prepare some food for him, he made her relate the whole story. The Emperor spent the night in her house. In the morning he put on his Court dress and went to the imperial palace. It was at once rumoured that the Emperor was there. The Subadar and other high officials, in consternation, presented themselves and paid their homage to their liege lord.

The Emperor as usual asked them if all was well, and while this conversation was proceeding, the Hindu, as prearranged, submitted his complain against the Subadar. As a matter of course the Subadar tried to convince the King that the kafir (infidel) had told abominable lies and put before the

King the futwa (decree) of the mullahs. The King at once summoned the woman in whose house he had passed the night. The woman at once recognised her guest and she, without any hesitation, divulged the whole secret before all the courtiers. The Subadar was dumbfounded. The Emperor summoned all the mullahs. They too could do naught but confess their crime. Then and there Jahangir struck off the head of the sinful Subadar with his own hand. He arrested all the mullahs and had them led in chains to a place outside Akbar's wall, round Hari Parbat, and there had them blown to pieces from a big gun. They were buried, without any funeral rites, in the same place. From that time the place received the name of Mullah Khah. Jahangir's son, Shah Jahan, built many palaces and laid out many gardens in the Happy Valley. His son, Aurangzeb, who ascended the throne in 1658, and who was the contemporary of Charles II., James II. and William III. of England, again began to persecute the Hindus in Kashmir and elsewhere.

Kashmir remained under the tyranny of the Mogul Subadars up to the years 1751, when it was conquered by Ahmad Shah Durani, who assassinated his own master, Nadir Shah, soon after 1738. With this murderer and his Afghan successors returned the evil days of the Hindus.

It remained for these Afghans to continue the work of spoliation and slaughter already begun. They collected all the religious scriptures of the Hindus. With these they constructed a bund, called Mussuth, which is still extant. When they were tired of killing so many people with the sword, they put them into bags and drowned them in the Dal Lake. The place where these atrocities were committed is still called Batta Mazir (the graveyard of the Hindus).

Their houses were ransacked, they were freely tortured to accept Islam, and their women were taken away from them and used as concubines. Numbers of the poor Hindus died of ill usage or slew themselves to avoid it. They were not allowed to put on their turbans. If they appeared in a public street any Mohammedan could ride on their backs and force them to carry him a certain distance. This was called Khos.

This reign of terror lasted till 1820, when Ranjit Singh, the Raja of the Punjab, conquered Kashmir, and rescued the remaining handful of the Hindus from the claws of their oppressors. To take revenge the Sikhs in their turn persecuted the Mohammedans. During this time the Mohammedans could not freely offer prayers.

After the first Sikh war Kashmir was ceded to the British, who sold it to Maharaja Gulab Singh in 1846. The grandson of this Raja. His Highness the Maharaja General Sir Pratab Singh, who ascended the Gadhi in the year 1886, was ruler over a large tract of country the size of England and Scotland, which includes, besides the Vale of Kashmir, Jammu, Poonch, Ladakh, Baltistan and all the states included in the Gilgit Agency, with a population of over three millions. His Highness was aided in the government of his state by three ministers—the Chief, Revenue and Home Minister, men who have been selected by the Indian Government and approved of by his Highness.

'Then there is the British Resident, who is the King's representative and has the assistance of other British officers. One is his personal assistant. There are also the Resident of Poonch State, the Resident of Ladakh and Baltistan and the Agent of Gilgit, which includes all the mountain states, Chilas, Hunzar Nagar, etc. Since the year 1890 there have been thirteen Residents. On my arrival here Colonel Party Nisbet was the Resident, and a great personality he was, for it was through his tact and energy that the Jhelum Valley cart-road was cut along the mountain-sides from Domel to Baramulla, a magnificant piece of engineering, the work of the State Engineer, Mr. Alkinson, and carried through by Spedding & Co., contractors.

The Resident's position is not altogether an easy one, for it is one requiring much tact, patience and courage.

It would be invidious to single out those who have done especially good work. Some of course have possessed stronger characters than others, and have consequently left their mark for good on the country, and their memory in the hearts of the people.

There are also British advisers in the various departments of the State, such as the Army, P.W.D. Accountants, Land Settlement, etc.

The heir to the Gadhi is General Prince Sir Hari Singh K.C.S.I., son of the late Sir Raja Amar Singh, who was a man of power. The young Prince is a sportsman, and possesses a keen sense of justice and plenty of commons sense.'

II

Spread of Islam

Shahmir ascended the throne in the year 1343 A.D. and made a promising good start. He paid his first attention to the improvement of agriculture and the lot of the peasantry. The land revenue was reduced to one fifth of the gross produce. Law and order was established with an iron hand and roads were made safe for travel. Lavanyas a Rajput clan which had acquired a lot of power and influence in the prevailing turmoil of the unsettled times, betrayed an amount of restiveness but were soon crushed, and in their stead, Chaks and Magreys, two influential clans, were brought to prominence. By such methods Shahmir strengthened and consolidated his rule. Islam now was the court religion, but the administration continued in the hands of the traditional official class, the Brahmans. With them the change of religion offered no advantage and the retention of the old creed no loss of status, and they continued to follow their old religion. Sanskrit was the official language and the people conducted their writing business in this language. But a number of Muslims preachers now began to pour into Kashmir from Hamdan, prominent amongst whom were a number of Sayyids, most of whom had left their country for fear of molestation from Timur any time. Some of these Sayyids had come to visit Kashmir even before the establishment of the Muslims rule, notable amongst them being Bulbul Shah, who was responsible for the conversion of Renchana. His original name is said to be Sayyid Abdul Rahman, though some call him Sayyid Sharafuddin or Sharfuddin Sayyid Abdul Rahman Turkistani. This much is certain that he was a Sayyid of Turkistan and was a disciple of Shah Niamat Ullah Wali, a Khalifa of Suhrawardi Taris (a Sufi sect).

He pad his first visit to Kashmir in the reign of Simha Deo (1286-1301), but returned soon. Next time we find him again in Kashmir and this time he effected the conversion of Renchana Shah, re-christened him as Sadar-ud-Din under circumstances that have already been referred to. With the establishment of the Muslim rule other notable Sayyids began to pour into the country. Bulbul Shah was followed by Sayyid Jalal-ud-Din of Bukhara and Sayyid Taj-ud-Din, the cousin of Mir Sayyid Ali Hamdani (Shah Hamdan). Sayyid Taj-ud-Din was accompanied by his two disciples Sayyid Musud and Sayyid Yusuf. There also came Sayyid Hussain Simnani the younger brother of Sayyid Tajuddin. It is said that Taj-ud-Din and Sayyid Hussain came to Kashmir Under instructions from Sayyid Mir Ali Hamdani to find it the country could give them protection against the attacks of Timur who was suspected of contemplating a wholesale massacre of the whole lot of the Sayyids. Sayyid Mir Ali Hamdani himself came to Kashmir as will be presently seen. It is said that with Sayyid Mir Ali Hamdani about seven hundred Sayyids came and with his illustrious son three hundred more. They stayed in Kashmir under royal protection and took to the proselytisation of the new faith. They secured many converts to the new faith. Islam having become the court religion it was but natural that some privileged position was guaranted to its votaries. This created repercussions in the Hindu mind, who saw before their very eyes definite deterioration in their former position. In the reign of Shahad-ud-Din (1360 to 1378 A.D.) the resentment in men's minds took a practical shape. A feeble rising on behalf of the Brahmans was the result. The other castes do not seem to have participated in the rising in any large numbers. The king in order to break the upheaval amongst Hindus turned his attention towards their temples which must have provided a meeting place for them. Hassan the Kashmiri historian says that almost all the temples in Srinagar including the one at Bijbehara were greatly damaged. It seems that the kings of Kashmir had by now become completely Muslimised as a result of their contacts with the

Sayyids. They began to feel that consolidation of their rule depended wholly upon extirpation of all traces of opposition, religious or political.

As already stated, the Hindus could not look with any amount of equanimity upon the drastic changes that swept in the body politic of their country. Resentment must have been there. Some stuck to their old religion in spite of many difficulties they had to face, but there were many others who either by conviction or in order to gain royal ravour changed their religion. The new converts came to be looked down by thir old compatriots as people with no decency or loyalty for their time-honoured values, This created a new struggle between these two classes. In the reign of Sikandar one Suha Bhata who after his conversion took the Islamic name of Saif-ud-Din became the leader of the fresh converts. Besides this he was the kings' Chief Minister. Both Sikandar and Saif-ud-Din planned the extirpation of the Hindus and obliteration of all traces of Hinduism from Kashmir. Saif-ud-Din had his own axe to grind but Sikandar wanted thereby to consolidate and strenghten his rule. The methods adopted by Sikandar in this behalf may well be give in the words of Hassan, the Kashmir historian. After having described the great homage which was paid to Mir Mohammed Hamdani, the illustrisious son of his great father. Mir Ali Hamdani by Sikandar, at whose bidding he constructed a Khanaka (now known as Khanaka-i-Maula), on the site of an old temple called Kalishri, Hassan says "this country possessed from the times of Hindu Rajas many temples which were like the wonders of the world. Their workmanship was so fine ad delicate that one found himself beweldered at their sight. Sikandar goaded by feelings of bigotry destroyed them and leveled them with the earth and with their material built many mosques and Khanakas. In the first instance he turned his attention towards the Martand temple built by Ramdeo on Mattan Kareva. For one full year he tried to demolish it but failed. At last in sheer dismay he dug out stones from its base and having stored enough wood in their place set fire to it. The fold gilt paintings on its walls were totally destroyed and the walls surrounding its premises were demolished. Its ruins even now strike wonder in men's minds. At Bijbehara three hundred temples including the famous Vijiveshawara temple which was partially damaged by Shahabud Din were destroyed and with the material of the latter a mosque was built and on its site a Khanaka which is even now known as Vijeshwar Khanaka." After having described the destruction of many temples the ruins of which even now bespeak a fully developed architectural grandeur and massiveness, Hassan further on says that "Sikandar meted out greatest oppression to the Hindus. It was notified in the city that if a Hindu does not become a Muslim, he must leave the country or be killed. As a result some of the Hindus fled away and some accepted Islam and many Brahmans consented to be killed and gave their lives. It is said that Sikandar collected by these methods about three khirwars (six maunds) of sacred threads (from Hindu converts) and burnt them. Hazrat Amir Kabir who was a witness to all this orgy of brute passion and vandalism at last advised him to desist from the slaughter of Brahmans, and told him to impose Jazia instead of death upon them. All the Hindu books of learning were collected and thrown into Dal lake and were buried beneath stones and earth." Governmental coercion, coupled with brisk proselytising activities indulged in by the Muslim preachers and also the privileged position which the fresh converts secured succeeded in bringing about a mass conversion. Sikandar himself was fired with a zeal to change the character of his rule into a purely Islamic administration and a considerable advance was made in this direction. He fully believed that the danger to the infant States was only from the Hindus. That danger had to be eliminated by any methods. Hence the persecution of the Hindus.

Sikandar in spite of all this had his virtues. He was a great patron of Islamic learning, though he had an equal hatred with the Hindu lore. He introduced many social reforms. He forbade sale and distilation of wines, sutteee, gambling, prostitution and even music and remitted many taxes though after having almost finished them, he allowed the remaining Hindus to live only on payment of Jazia.

Sikandar was succeeded by his son Ali Shah who also appointed Saif-ud-Din as his Prime Minister. In his short reign of about six years the persecution of the Hindus continued and even with greater vigour. Ali Shah appears to have been a weakling and an incompetent person in whose reign some outlying districts changed masters. Saif-ud-Din his minister was at one with him for bringing about the annihilation of the Hindu population. Jona Raja in his history gives a graphic description of the plight of the Brahmans in the reign of Ali Shah. Says he : "Suha (Saif-ud-Din) passed the limit by levying fine (Jazia) on the twice born. This evil-minded man forbade ceremonies and processions on the new moon. He became envious that the Brahmans who had become fearless would keep up their caste by going over to foreign countries, he therefore ordered posting of squads on the roads, not to allow passage to any one without a passport. Then as the fisherman torments fish, so this low born man tormented the twice born in this country. The Brahmans burnt themselves in the flaming fire through fear of conversion. Some Brahmans killed themselves by taking poison, some by the rope and others by drowning themselves. Others again by falling from a precipice. The country was contaminated by hatred and the kings' favourites could not prevent one in a thousand from committing suicide...A multitude of Brahmans who prided in their caste fled from the country through bye-roads as the main roads were closed. Even as men depart from this world, so did the Brahmans flee to foreign countries, the son leaving his father behind and the father leaving his son. The difficult countries through which they passed, the scanty food, painful illness and the torments of hell during life time remove from the minds of the Brahmans the fears of hell. Oppressed by various calamities such as encounter with the enemy, fear of snakes, fierce heat and scanty food, many Brahmans perished on the way and thus obtained relief. Where was then their bath, their meditation, their austerity and where was then their prayers ?"

The persecution of the Hindus or more particularly of the Brahmans has been borne testimony to by almost all the Muslim historians. Hassan and Fauq, two great Muslim historian, have condemned these excesses in unscathing terms. But it cannot be denied that the struggle had both an economic and political background, though it took the form of religious persecution. As already stated, a number of Sayyids came over to Kashmir. They had the blessings and leadership of Amir Kabir Shah Hamdan (Mir Ali Hamdani) and his illustrious son Mir Mohammed, who had very great influence with the then Muslim rulers, Qutub-ud-Din and Sikandara. The Sayyids achieved great influence and the prominent amongst them established dropaganda centres where meals were distributed free and people were initiated into the cult of Islam. It becomes evident that a Muslims Brahman class (Sayyids) came into existence as against the Hindu Brahman class. The Sayyids now performed the duties which were more or less performed once by the Brahmans. The income which once went to the Brahmans, went now to the Sayyids and the influence which they once wielded at the royal court came now to be exercised by the Sayyids. A struggle was inevitable. The Sayyid saw a potential danger in the Brahman in whose rehabilitation he saw his own disaster. With the aid and support of the Government he wrought his distruction. The Sayyids were a source of great strength for the rulers themselves. They became the king's party. They not only made additions to the loyal bands of "faithful" but even kept a refractory populace under check by preaching that a Muslim ruler partook of the halo of divinity. But the Brahman with a pertinacity seldom witnessed at any other place stuck to his gun. Unmindful of the gains that would have accrued to him by change of religion, and destitute, forlorn, hunted and homeless though he became as a result of his refusal to change his faith, the Brahman did not lose courage. Some of them were forcibly converted, some fled from the country, many more committed suicide, and those that remained in the country went about in disguise from place to place. Though, as we have already seen, Sikandar tried to destroy the whole of their literature, yet the failed very miserably. These Brahmans lost their temples, their homes, their kith and kin, their means of livelihood, but they minded it not. On the contrary, even in their miserable plight they did not forget their rich treasures which linked them with their past. They felt that they were the custodians of their past cultural heritage—the illuminating treatises on the stupendous Shaiva philosophy, and other great works on literature, art, music, grammar, and medicine—works which have exited the wonder of an admiring world; and whereever they went they carried these treasures with themselves. Judging from the depth of thought displayed in these works that have been preserved their high literary merit, their insight into the depth of human nature, their poetical flights, their emotional fervour coupled with an incisive logical treatmnt of the subjects dealt with in them, one can easily imagine the colosal loss to which the world has been subjected to by the acts of vandalism which resulted in the destruction of hundreds of other works which contained the labours of more than two thousand years. The tradition is that rone but eleven houses of Brahmans were saved, the rest having been killed or committed suicide, or went about in disguise or left the country for good.

But all traces of life were not extinct in the Brahmans. In the closing years of Ali Shah's reign the Brahmans began to come out of their hiding. On the advice of Mir Mohammed the king allowed them to live on payment of Jazia. Those who could pay were given a respite and under the leadership on one Ratanakara who somehow or other ingratiated himself into the favours of Saif-ud-Din, the Chief Minister, they started to organize themselves, but the other side looked with great dis-favour upon the Brahmans trying to rehabilitate themselves and upon the advice of a Muslim divine who is named in the Hindu chronicles as "Malan-ud-Din" this Ratnakara was imprisoned and the Brahmans again went back to wilderness.

The reign of Ali Shah covers a brief span of six years. But during these short years lawlessness was the order of the day. The edifice built by Shah Mir was tottering. Some of the outlying districts ceased to have allegiance to the central authority. Trade dwindled and the time-honoured industries which had won a name for Kashmir were in a state of decay. Thousands of people were unrooted. They went from place to place spreading disaffection and resentment. But a change for the better was soon to be witnessed.

7

Muslim and Sikh Rule

I

With the capture, through intrigue and stratagem, the throne in 1339 A.D. by an upstart courtier, Shah Mirza Shah Mir as he is usually known, the Muslims came to power. The Kashmiris welcomed the change. For a few years the country became peaceful and hopes of a prosperous future were raised. But not for long; the Valley relapsed into disorder. Sultan Sikandar drove the Hindus to desperation by sbjecting them to harsh measures. He levied other taxes on them besides the jazia. Even the burning of dead bodies was not allowed without payment of a tax. Sikander got books on philosophy, theology and arts in Sanskrit destroyed by flame "even as fire burns grass." In his fanatical zeal the Sultan took a fancy to demolish all temples in the Valley which symbolized the finest architecture in the country produced by the great Kashmiri masters through ages. "There was no city, no town, no village, no wood," bewails the contemporary historian, Jonaraja, "where the temples of gods were unbroken." The Hindus were neither tolerated in their homeland nor allowed to go abroad. "Struck by fear some Brahmins killed themselves in water, others again by falling from a precipice and others burnt themselves." For his misdeeds Sikander earned the sobriquet of "But Shikan" (idol breaker) or as a Kashmiri calls it "Buthi Shigun."

Undoubtedly Zain-ul-abidin, endearingly called Bud Shah (Great King), was a benevolent monarch who shines resplendently in this dreary period, but his son, Haider Shah, drunkard and profligate, revived the traditions of misgovernment. In his time an ignorant barber, Riktetara, gained official patronag and notoriety. Killing of innocent men by ordinary methods did not satiate his hunger for torture. His victims were high and humble, poor and wealthy. "The relentless and sinful barber" says Srivara, "Cut off the Thakuras and the courtiers of the king's father by the saw." He impaled his victims on the roadside. For three days and nights the unfortunate men lived like this shrieking till death ended their agony.

Conditions showed no improvement after the death of Haider Shah. There was a long drawn struggle for throne between two kings, Mohammed Shah and Fath Shah, from 1484 to 1516. By turns they captured the throne for short durations, the former three times and the latter as many as five times. On Fath Shah's accession in 1486 the king allowed foreign mercenaries with whose support he gained power, to plunder the city. During this period Kashmir was involved in a civil was which further enfeebled the people and improverished them. "There appears to be no cause of lamentation over the displacement of the Shahmiri dynasty in Kashmir." wrote Dr. Ghulam Mohiuddin Sufi, "Its rulers had become quite effete. They sadly lacked the essential qualities of initiative and capacity to command."

Chaks succeeded Shah Miris and ruled over Kashmir for thirty-one years from 1555 to 1586. This period is notable for religious fanaticism, wanton barbarity, insecurity and ruthlessness, the victims mostly being the Sunni Muslims. Excepting Hussain Shah Chak, all other kings of this dynasty were boors and heartless men who simply loved to inflict pain and torture.

With the help of certain Kashmir dignitaries, Akbar conquered the Valley in 1586 after encountering stiff resistence and discomfiture in early attempts. The unhappy people accepted the inevitable and befriended the invaders in the forlorn hope that they will at last get some relief.

The Mughal rule laster for 166 years. Kashmir now became a province of the Indian empire and was administered through governors appointed by the emperors at Delhi. In the last days of the Mughal rule the governors started more an unwholesome practice of deputing their representatives to the Valley while they were themselves engaged in court intrigues at the imperial capital.

Some of the Mughal governors were henevolent, merciful and concientious who took measures to improve the economic and politica conditions of the Kashmiris, but there were others particularly those during the declining period of the Mughal rule, who proved merciless despots. They encouraged Hindu-Muslim factions and Shia-Sunni feuds besides levying undue imposts and heavy taxes on the toiling masses which made life hard to live. At the death of Aurangzeb Kashmir was again simmering with unrest. Not only were the people groaning under the unbearable whips of poverty and oppression, acute religious differences were making the matter worse. "Sectarian fights between the Shias and the Sunnis were not uncommon in those days", says Sufi. "Religious feelings were bitter every where."

The more were Mughals involved in dissensions and internal strife at Delhi the less attention could they pay to improve conditions in Kashmir. Ultimately anarchy broke out and there was practically no government in the Valley. At the invitation of some Kashmir nobles, Ahmed Shah Abdali dispatched a small force and easily conquered the land in 1752.

The Afghan rule proved the worst of all the despotisms that the Kashmiris had suffered in their long history. By stealing the last pennies from the pockets of the poverty stricken people and by inventing diabolical methods to torture them, the Pathan subedars made themselves the most despicable of rulers. It was a dismal period unrelieved by any good work, chivalry or honour. Even today the Pathan satraps ae remembered in the Valley only for their savagery and inhuman conduct. A Persian couplet quoted about them is : *"Sar buridan* *pesh in sangin dilan gul chidan ast."* (These stone hearted people thought no more of cutting heads than of plucking flowers).

The victims of the Pathan ruthlessness were Kashmiris without distinction of religion or caste, but the particular objects of torture were the Pandits, the Shias and Muslim Bombas of the Jhelum Valley. Governor Asad Khan used to tie up the Pandits, two and two, with rope in grass sacks and sink them in the Dal Lake. As an amusement, a pitcher filled with ordure would be placed on the Pandits' heads and then pelted with stones till it broke, the unfortunate victims being blinded with filth. Governor Mir Hazar, another fiend, used leather bags instead of grass sacks for the drowning. He drowned Shias as well as Brahmins.

The Pathans were followed by the Sikhs in 1819 when at the invitation of Kashmir nobles headed by Birbal Dhar, Ranjit Singh succeeded in annexing the Valley to his expanding dominions. "It must have been an intense relief to all classes in Kashmir to see the downfall of the evil rule of the Pathans and to none was the relief greater than to the peasants, who had been cruelly fleeced by the rapacious sirdars of Kabul," thought Lawrence. The Kashmiris pinned great hopes on the Sikh rule; but they were mistaken. William Moorcroft who travelled extensively in the Valley and met people of all shades of opinion in the twenties of the last century when the Sikhs had gained firm possession of the land, noted :

> *The village were we stopped was half deserted and the few inhabitants that remained wore the semblance of extreme wretchedness; without some relief or change of system, if seems probable that this part of the country will soon be without inhabitants.*

That relief never came nor did any change of system occur under the Sikhs. Moorcroft added :

> *The number of Kashmiris who were to accompany us over the mountains proved here to be no exaggeration and their appearance half naked and miserably emaciated presented a ghastly picture of poverty and starvation.*

Summing up his views about the Sikh rule Moorcroft concluded :

> *The Sikhs seem to look upon Kashmiris as little better than cattle. The murder of a native by a Sikh is punished by a fine to the Government of from sixteen to twenty rupees, of which four rupees are paid to the family of the deceased if a Hindu, two rupees if he was a Mohammedan.*

The Sikhs forbade killing of cows and any Muslim who was known to have knifed the animal even if it be his own, was hanged or stoned to death. Several Muslim mosques in the Valley were seized and used as godowns.

By the end of Sikh rule in 1846 when the Dogra Rajputs got the Valley as a gift from the British in recognition of services rendered by them during the Anglo-Sikh Wars, the Kashmiris were thoroughly demoralised and lying prostrate at the mercy of any individual who was put at the help of affairs.

Cultural Achievements

Whether the political complexion of the State, some Kashmiris remained engrossed in cultural activities through the different periods of their dismal history, creating human values and producing things of artistic beauty. The earlier inhabitants of the Valley lived nearer nature and worshipped its various manifestations. Later, Vedic religion gradually spread among them. Alexander's invasion of Northern India introduced Greek influence in their art and architecture. Buddhism became dominant in the days when Ashoka got hold of the country in 260 B.C., but brahminical counter revolution after the Emperor's death gave a setback to the progress. The clash of ideals and ideas resulted in the fusion of the two cultures in the Valley which gave birth to the Trika philosophy commonly known as Shaivism. This system of thought is the outcome of the blending of the Vedic and Buddhistic cultures, a synthesis of the essential elements that are to be found in almost all the Indian philosophies plus the knowledge gained by the Kashmir thinkers with their own speculations and experiences.

Shaivism was founded by Vasugupta in the 8th century A.D. He wrote *Spanda Karika* which contains the essence of the philosophy in aphorisms. Vasugupta's disciple, Kalatta Bhatta, composed *Spanda Vritti* in the ninth century. Soon after came Somananda father of the Pratyabhijna school with his dazzling treatise, *Shiva drishti*. Utpaladeva whose books *Pratyabhijna* and *Stotravali* are accorded a place of authority of Shaiva philosophy, lived in the tenty century. The most prolific, profound and versatile writer on the Trika is Abhinavagupta who was born between 950 and 960 A.D. His monumental production, *Tantraloka,* is recognised as the encyclopaedia of monastic idealism. He wrote no fewer than fifty volumes on different aspects of the Shaiva philosophy and Sanskrit literature out of which forty-four are extant; the more known among these are; *Tantra Loka, Tantra Sara, Parmartha Sara and Rasadhvani*. He was the propounder of the "Abasavada" and introduced the Krama and Kula systems in Shaivism.

Works on literature during this period are numberless. But among the important ones mention may be made of Bhima Bhatta's *Ravan Arjuniya* (700 A.D.) Damodara Gupta's *Kuttni Mata* (760 A.D.), Kshiraswamy's *Lexicon* (800 A.D.), Ratnakara's *Haravijiya* (850 A.D.), Vallabh Deva's commentaries on Kalidasa's works, Kshemendra's *Desopadesa* (975 A.D.), Somedeva's *Kathasaritsagara* (1000 A.D.), Bhilhana's *Vikramankdevacharita;* Mankha's *Srikanthacharita* and Jayadratha's *Haricharita Chintamani*.

Books have also been written on Poetics such are, for instance, Vaman Bhatta's *Kavyalamkara,* Rudratta's *Sringartilaka,* Ruyyaka's *Alankarsarvasva* and Mammata's *Kavya Prakasha*.

A distinguished intellectual of this period was Kshemendra (990-1065) whose thirty-four works are extant. Among them are *Desopadesa, Narmamala* and *Darpadalna*. He rendered into Sanskrit the famous work *Brahad Katha* of Gunadhya which was written in Pishacha dialect. Another stalwart was Bilhana (born in 1078). He travelled widely, achieved fame as poet and scholar, and became the tutor of a princess at Kalyani in Deccan. Among his works that have survived are

Vikramankadevacharita, Karna Sundari Mala and *Chaurapanchashika.*

We have already dwelt on the achievements of the Kashmiris in the domain of architecture during ancient times. Kalhana has recorded in great detail the construction of temples, mathas, viharas, chityas and other religious and public edifices built by Hindu or Buddhist monarchs and nobles. Most of these constructions were in existence during the lifetime of the Poet-Historian in twelfth century. The sun-god's temple at Martand so highly spoken of by Sir Francis Younghusband was only one of these.

Women in Ancient Society

In building the social and cultural life, women played an effective and a splendid role. It would be no exaggeration to say that their status in Kashmir was much better than in the rest of India. Broadly speaking, from early times to the thirteenth century they enjoyed remarkable freedom, wielded ample power and exercised responsibility which gave them a high position in the society. Members of both the sexes equally shared joys and sorrows of life. "Kashmir women had emerged from the domestic into the political stage," observed R.S. Pandit "were free, owned landed and other immovable property, managed their own estates and even fought on the battle field as generals and commanders at the head of troops."

At times Kashmiri women have risen to pinnacles of glory and distinguished themselves as rulers (Yashomati, Sugandha, Didda and Kota,) in their own right, as regents of minor princes, as powerful queens-consort (Ishandevi, Vakpushta, Ananglekha, Srilekha, Suryamati and Jayamati,) as diplomats in peace and war (Radda Devi, Kalhanika,) as commanders of armies (Silla, Chudda,) as thrifty landladies, as builders and reformers and as preceptors of the religious lore. As well in singing and dancing, they have earned fame in keeping homes. There were few walks of life in which they did not achieve prominence and there was no social activity in which they did not participate side by side with their menfolk.

There was a tradition as forceful as law that at the time of coronation when the king was crowned the queen had to be present and actively participate in the ceremony. She shared the throne in the royal durbar on the auspicious occasion and was prinkled with the sacred waters of the *abhisheka* (coronation) in the same manner as the king by the *raj guru* (royal preceptor). The queen had her separate funds, own treasurers and councillors to help and advise her on affairs of state. Like the king she used to hold open levees and receive the homage of the feudatory chiefs, prominent nobles and big officers of the state.

Impact of Islam

In the fourteenth century Islam, like Buddhism in earlier times, revolutionised the social life of the people.

The stiff and strong opposition to Islam by the orthodox Brahmins on the one hand and its critical appreciation by the Shaiva philosophers on the other, finally resulted in the emergence of a new composite culture which may be called religious humanism. The first apostle of this creed was hermitess Lalla or Lal Ded who laid the basic principles of the culture in her sayings, *Lalla Vakyani*. Her illustrious disciple was Sheikh Nooruddin or Nund Reshi who is the national saint of the Kashmiris. Sheikh Nooruddin had a large number of followers, and, after his death, his chief disciples founded the order of "Rishis" in the Valley. The peaceful and rapid conversion of large masses to Islam was facilitated by the spread of the cult of religious humanism.

Islam as practised in the Valley, though it surely stands on the basis of the cardinal principles taught by the Quran, has been deeply influenced by the ancient Kashmir culture.

Even after their conversion to the few faith, the Kashmiris did not altogether abandon the ways of life and mental outlook that their fore fathers had cultivated through thousands of years of their history. A Kashmiri Muslim shares in common with his Hindu compatriot many inhibitions, superstitions, idolatrous practices as well as social liberties and intellectual freedoms which are unknown to Islam. "I attribute much of the delightful tolerance which exists between the followers of the two religions chiefly to the fact that the Kashmiri Mussalmans never really gave up the old religion of the country", observed Sir Walter R. Lawrence who knew the Kashmiris more intimately than any other foreigner. The *Imperial Gazetteer* recorded a similar opinion : "Close observers of the country say that the so-called Mussalmans are still Hindus at heart". The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* corroborates this : "The great majority of the inhabitants of Kashmir are professedly Mohammedans but they are still strongly influenced by their ancient superstitions".

This conclusion is borne out by the compositions of Kashmiri poets who flourished during the medieval period and expressed their thoughts in the idiom of pre-Muslim times. The following piece of Shah Gafoor, a sufi poet, may be quoted as a typical example :

Yut its zanmas kenh chhuna larun
Dharnai darun Soham su
Bashar travith gachhi Isshar garun
Isharus saiti roz sapdak
Ishir sapdith gachhi yi sharir marun
Dharnai darun soham su
Dah chhi avtar zah lagina tharun
Meh zan prazlan naran chum
Ram ram karun gau nam sandarun
Dharnai darun...Soham su

> *"Birth avails us nothing. Meditate, therefore, upon Soham the Eternal. Forgetting the age seek Ishvara. Keep close to Ishvara to realise Him.*
>
> *"Once you attain Ishvara this mortal be got rid of. Meditate upon the Eternal. There are ten incarnations of God. One should never be nervous. Narayana dazzles like the moon. Repetition of the name of Rama leads to one's salvation. Meditate upon the Eternal."*

Shah Gafoor was a devout Muslim of the ninteenth century and by no means a unique personality. Almost all popular

Muslim poets of the Valley have sung in the same strain. By being converted to the new faith they did not renounce the old cultural traditions and modes of thought.

Of course Islam in its turn has also not left Hinduism and its followers unaffected in the Valley.

Lawrence wrote that Kashmir Brahmins did things that would horrify the orthodox Hindus. "They will drink water brought by a Mussalman; they will eat food cooked on a Mussalman boat; the foster-brother often obtains great power in a Hindu household. Maharaja Gulab Singh did his utmost to stop the practice of drinking water brought by a Mussalman, and severely interdicted the eating of cheese (prepared by Mussalmans). But it was all to no effect." This might appear trivial in changed circumstances obtaining today but it is right to remember that eighty years ago Hindus were rigidly orthodox and untouchability at its worst.

Summing up his findings on the social and cultural closeness of the Pandits and Muslims in the Valley, Lawrence observed :

> *If a comparison be made between the customs of the Hindus and the Musalmans, it will be seen that there ae many points of resemblance, and the curious prominence of walnut and salt, and the use of the 'mendhi' dye, will be noticed. Besides, the 'mehnzrat", or use of the mendhi dye, in both religions there is the laganchir or fixing of the marriage day; 'phirsal', the visit paid by the bridegroom to the bride's house after marriage; 'gulimiut', the giving of money and jewels; the dress and the title of the bridegroom as 'Maharaja' and of the bride as 'Maharani' : 'chudus', the giving of presents, on the fourth day after death, and the 'wehrawod' and 'wehrawar' the celebration respectively of the birthday and day of death.*

Religious Humanism has been the precious heritage of all classes and communities in the Valley whether formally they adhere to Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism or any other religion. Any activities which cut at the root of this philosophy and culture have appeared abhorrent and unendurable to them.

Staunch biliever in and the standard bearer of Religious Humanism, King Zain-ul-abdin Bud Shah gave the people the most peaceful and prosperous fifty-two years (1420-1472 A.D.) in the medieval times which are known as the golden age of Kashmir.

Progress Under Muslim Rule

During the Muslim period the cultural progress was more or less maintained by the Kashmiris. Apart from the fusion of the two thought currents, the people made new contributions to arts, architecture and literature. Some valuable books continued to be written in Sanskrit. With the stabilisation of Muslim rule, persian became the court language. The Kashmiris learnt it with zest and produced informed treatises on various subjects in it. Indeed, they became so proficient in the language that Kashmir was given the title of "Iran-i-Saghir" (Younger Iran) by the learned.

Among the important Sanskrit works of this period mention may be made of Jagdhar Bhatt's *Stutikusumanjali* (1350), Sri Kantha's *Balbodhini* (1475), Vallabh Deva's *Padyavali* (1550) and Shivopadhyay's *Vignama Bhairavi* (1759).

Sultan Zain-ul-abdin got many books translated from Sanskrit and Arabic into persian and Kashmiri for the benefit of the people. He built a library consisting of 25 thousand volumes, a surprising achievement in those days. It is said that a copy of *Atharva Veda* was found in this collection when it had become extinct in the rest of India.

Books written in Persian and available even today are over three hundred in number. For details of litarary, cultural and architectural works of this period read Prem Nath Bazaz : *A History of Struggle for Freedom in Kashmir*, Chapter Four entitled "Cultural Resurgence Under the Muslims" Pp. 81-110. Among their authors are Yaqub Sarfi, Baba Daud Khaki, Khawaja Habib Ullah Nawshahri, Mirza Akmaluddin Kamil, Mulla Mohammed Mahsin Fani, Khawaja Abdul Karim, Baba Daud Mushkani and Mulla Zihni.

Mirza Kamil produced the prodigious work, *Bahar-ul-Urfan*, which is in four volumes and comprises 80,000 verses; it was inspired by the philsophical thoughts popularised by Maulana Rumi.

The most distinguished thinker of the Muslim period who personified the spirit of Kashmir culture in Persian literature was Mulla Mohammed Mahsin Fani who wrote a fascinating book, *Dabistan-i-Mazahib*. He was born in 1615 and belonged to a family which enjoyed reputation for learning and scholarship. He was wiely travelled in India and the Middle East, and had come in close contact with known philosophers and religious leaders of his age. Returning to homeland and renouncing the world, Fani produced the *Dabistan* in 1655, critically examining in an unbiased manner the mythologies and philosophies of different religions. He did not hesitate to express his preference and liking in certain respects for some religions other than Islam to which he belonged by birth. He was an admirer of Akbar's Din Illahi and Zoroastrianism. The *Dabistan* is the measure of progressive intellectualism during the Muslim times.

Among those who composed exquisite poetry in Persian were; Ashraf, Tayib, Mazhari, Saifi, Salim, Auji, Faroghi, Najimi, Guya, Taufiq, Sati, Yakta, and Bahauddin Mattu.

A volatile, independent artist who composed finest Persian poetry, was Mulla Mohammed Tahir Ghani. He flourished in the reign of Aurangzeb. His verses elicited highest praise of the Iranian scholars. In fact, Persian poetry found another home in the Valley during his time. It is remarkable that Ghani never composed a *qasida* in praise of any human being. When Aurangzeb impressed by the poet's scholarship and fame, ordered his presence at the royal court Ghani refused to attend and, strangely, died next day.

Kashmir Hindus were equally proficient in Persian literature; they too composed poetry of high order. Among such poets were Munshi Bhawani Das Kachru "Nikku", Tabaram Turki, and Rajkaul Arzbeg "Dairi" whose *dewans* appeared in 1840, 1861 and 1887 respectively.

Though it is known that books in Kashmiri were written earlier, Hermitess Lalla whose sayings, *Lalla Vakyani*, in archaic

Kashmiri is extant, popularised the use of the language for cultural purposes. Following her, many contributions were made by several other seers and poets to the literature. Among those worthy of mention are Habba Khatun, Arnimal, Prakash Bhat, Sahib Kaul, Abdullah Baihaqi, Mohamud Gami, Parmanand, Maqbul Shah Kralawari, Rasul Mir, Wahab Parey, Ramzan Bhat, Laxman Ju and Krishaṇ Das.

Under the Muslim rule architecture took a new shape a novel wooden style was invented which soon became quite popular; it fulfilled a religious need; the temple was meant for the deity and the individual but the mosque was needed for the communal worship; it was to be specious. Buildings of stone are cold but those of wood are warm and comfortable inside and therefore more fit for congregational prayers.

The best specimens of the wooden style of architecture were the royal palaces that Bud Shah built. Zain Dab which he constructed at Nav Shahar (now a part of Srinagar) was twelve storeys high, each of which contained fifty halls (to accommodate 500 people each), besides smaller rooms and corridors. But the wooden structures do not last long. The two grand buildings of this period which have survived are Khanqahi Moulla and Jama Masjid; both were frequently damaged by fire. They have to course been renovated from time to time and may be considered as the fine samples of the architectural achievements of the Muslim period.

The Mughals introduced their own style of architecture in the Valley but it was neither the creation of the Kashmiris nor the work of the local artisans; designers, craftsmen and engineers were usually imported from outside to raise the structures and lay out the gardens.

In the days of the Sultans music and dancing made good progress. We read of the hundreds of musicians and dancers who were attached to the court and were accomplished in their respective arts. In the Indian section of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, there are twenty four large canvas paintings which were produced in Kashmir centuries ago.

From Darkness to Night

Whatever their achievements in other fields, the Kashmiris could not pay much attention to evolve political theories of set up political institutions as did the Greeks by establishing democratic governments in city states of Athens. Among the prodigious literary productions of the Kashmiris, there is no work like Plato's *Republic.* But the Kashmiris did make attempts, though feeble, to have some sort of an organised system of government.

In the time of King Jalauka who ruled the country in third century B.C., the Kashmiris seem to have been successful in laying the foundations of a constitutional government by introducing a system of council of ministers thus restricting the powers of monarchy. It was under the recognised authority of this constitution that many monarchs who proved unfit to rule were deposed, even banished, and replaced by candidates with merit to preside over the destinies of the people. Occasionally, at a time of national emergency, kings have been elected and this practice was followed down to the thirteenth century A.D.

II

Moghuls

The Muslims of India had grown ineffective. The Empire of Delhi had disappeared. The king's writ was on longer supreme. It was the time of the little princes, the Tawaif-ul-Muluk. Babar who had failed in his native home came to India and founded a kingdom. To Kashmir he sent his sepoys in 1494 A.D. (according to one account) but they appear on the pages of Kashmir's history as meteors who flash across the darkness of the night and are gone. Mirza Haider of Auritapa and Sikandar Khan of Kashghar (1532 A.D.) are also said to have invaded Kashmir but could not secure a footing. Humayun also tried his luck but did not succeed. At last the throne of Kashmir lapsed to Akbar in 1585 A.D. A deputation from Kashmir submitted a petition to Akbar which included an invitation to him. Kashmir had grown tired of misrule. A pact was signed

(a) That the king shall not interfere with the religious affairs, the purchase and sale of goods and the rates of food grains and cereals.

(b) That the Officers of the Government shall have no male or female Kashmir as a slave.

(c) That the inhabitants of Kashmir shall not be molested in any way.

(d) That the nobles of Kashmir having been a source of mischief in the past shall have nos hare in the administration of the country.

Akbar, the Guardian of Mankind, (1556-1605 A.D.) restored peace to the country. His is the noblest figure among Muslims monarchs who even shone on the throne of India. He built the Hari Parbat Fort and the city of Nagar inside the huge wall that runs round Hari Parbat. Akbar brought his Finance Minister named Raja Todal Mal with him to Kashmir. He fixed his camp at Pattan, measured the whole land and settled the revenue.

The labourers who were employed in the construction of the new city were paid at the rate of six annas a day if married and four annas if unmarried. Akbar maintained an army of 4,892 cavalry and 92,400 infantry. He visited the country three times. In his time Kashmir yielded a revenue of about one crore. Akbar was a man of great energy and constant occupation, capable of immense and prolonged effort and fond of all many exercises. On a campaign he was indefatigable. Himself a great thinker he also respected the sentiments of others. He abolished Jazia and other abominable taxes imposed by the Muslim sovereigns upon their Hindu subjects and gave high posts of the Hindus.

Akbar was succeeded by Jehangir, the Great Moghul 1605-1627 A.D. He was a prince of luxurious taste. He built Shalimar, Chishma Shahi, Naseem and Verinag which stand to this day. He considered it bad taste to stretch a carpet on the green ground of the Valley. But he abandoned himself to voluptuous ease, to "Wein, Weib, Und Gesang." Well goes the saying.

"He that diggeth a well, he that buildeth a fountain and he that planteth a tree is pleasing to the everlasting." Jehangir was a just monarch and the 'fabled bell' verily belongs to him. Death overtook him on his way to Delhi. When Jehangir was dying he was asked if the wanted anything. He replied "Kashmir".

> Az Shah-i-Jehangir dame naza chu justand
> Ba khwahish-i-dil guft ki Kashmir digar hech.

History records that the Raja to Kishtwar was brought to knees in 1620 A.D. by Jehangir's armies.

Once the Hindus of Kashmir complained against (Qulich) Kullbah Khan (1606-1609 A.D.) to Emperor Jehangir. He sent to him a warning in the following words in Persian :

> "Hakumat Panaha, Dadkhwahani tu bisyar,
> shukrguzarani tu kam, abi sabah bar labi
> tashnagan bire warnah as hukumat barkhez."

"O protector of administration; thy complainants are many, thy thanksgivers are few, pour cold water on the lips of the thirsty, or else get away from the administration." The Governor was dismissed for not heeding the warming.

Some maintain that Ahmad Beg Khan, the Governor, was an evil star for Kashmir (1615-1618 A.D.).ddd

Shah Jahan, the Magnificent (1627-1658 A.D.), was made of the same mettle as his father. He added immensely to his father's grandeur. The Moghuls were Muslims of a nobel breed. There are many instances to show how just and also how tolerant they were towards other faiths. "He ruled from the Peacock Throne and spread hands of command from Balkh to Himalaya." Shah Jahan also visited Kashmir many times.

Zaffar Khan (1633-1640 A.D.) abolished many taxes such as tax on saffron, tax on wood and poll-tax on sheep and boatmen. Ali mardhan Khan (1642 A.D.) was credited with the possession of the philosopher's stone with whose help he built-up sarais on the Pir Panchal route. It was during his time that Muslims, headed by one fanatic Khawaja Mam, set fire to

Pandit Mahadev's house and also slew a large number of Brahmins. When this report reached the Emperor Shah Jahan he was very much incensed and the offenders were punished An expedition was appointed during Ali Mardan Khan's time (1650-1657 A.D.) to proceed from Kashmir to Tibet to subdue a rebel, Mirza Jam, and to capture fort Skardu. Tibet was annexed to the Delhi empire on August 15, 1651.

Writes Mr. M.R. Qanugo in the Journal of Indian History for April 1929 :

"In Kashmir, Shah Jahan changed the Hindu names of places into Islamic and destroyed some Hindu shrines. In the month of Rabi-Ussani, A.H. 1044, when the Imperial standard reached the neighbourhood of Himber Pass at the foot of the Kashmir hills, His Majesty learnt that the Muslims of this place, His Majesty learnt that the Muslims of this place, owing to their primitive ignorance, gave their own daughters in marriage to the Hindus and also took wives from them. There was an understanding that Hindu women married by Muslims were to be buried and Muslim girls married by Hindus to be burnt according to Hindu custom after death. The emperor as the protector of the Faith ordered that the Hindus who married Muslims women must be compelled either to renounce infidelity or to part with their Muslim wives. Jagu, a Zamindar of these parts from whom these despicable customs had originated, through the Grace of God and out of fear, at the desire of His Majesty, with all his kinsmen accepted Islam and was honoured with the title of "Raja Daulatmand". Even as it is, it looks incompatible with Moghul sense of justice.

Aurangzeb, (1658-1707 A.D.) undid what his father had done. He was a contemporary of Charles II, James II and William III George Foster who visited Kashmir in 1783 A.D. talks much of the atrocities committed by Aurangzeb. He says that the Emperor extracted three and a half lakhs of rupees and the Governor who collected this sum took twenty lakhs for himself. It is possible that a Governor on the spot did things which were not approved by the Emperor and often it proved so.

While Aurangzeb was reigning in Delhi, a sage named Pir Pandit Padshah (so says that tradition) had fascinated people here. The Emperor was alarmed at this. He summoned him to his court. The Pir's spirit went to the court through air and appeared before him in a terrible form mounted on a lion. The Emperor was horrified and Pir Pandit was no more annoyed. Aurangzeb visited Kashmir once in the year 1663. Three thousand coolies were employed from Bhimber to Kashmir and they received ten crowns for every hundred pounds of weight they carried.

Saif Khan (1664-1667 A.D.) introduced innovations in the form of new exactions such as (a) assessing the revenue by the actual measurement of land in place of the old practice of making a rough eye-estimate based on guess, (b) taxing the people to make good any loss or damage to things from the province ordered by the Emperors (Casuri-i-farmaith), and (c) change in or deduct from men's salaries due. During his second viceroyalty he promoted agriculture by planting colonies and building a city. Mubarez Khan (1667-68 A.D.) was a good natured but indolent man and his Uzbek retainers shamelessly oppressed and ill-treated the people, wounding and killing all who resisted them. Muzafar Khan (1690-1692) and his brother, Abu Nasar Khan (1652-1698 A.D.), both sons of Shaista Khan, enriched themselves by levying illegal cesses, in addition to realising their legitimate fees with the utmost rigour. Fazal Khan (1698-1701 A.D. in addition to being a patron of scholars and holy men, built many mosques, schools, pavilions, sarais, embankments and gardens etc. He was the first to introduce the Kashmiris to the Emperor's service and he also remitted many casses of former times such as hasil-i-ghalak (tax on earthen jars), nimak (salt duty) and damdari (tax on bird catcher). During Ibrahim Khan's viceroyalty (1701-1706 A.D.) there occurred a civil war between the Shias and Sunnis. Aurangzeb on hearing of these occurrences removed Ibrahim Khan from viceroyalty and ordered the Sunni captives to be released. Iftikhar Khan (1671-1675) won a lot of notoriety by unnecessarily torturing Hindus and the following account will throw light on his policy.

The long roll of natural, calamities during the half century of Aurangzeb's reign includes two earthquakes (1669 and 1681), two conflagrations of the capital (1672 and 1676), one flood (1682) and a famine (1688). The conquest of Greater Tibet whose ruler, styled Daladal Mamjal in the Persian chronicles, bowed to Islam, caused coins to the struck and the Khutba read in the Emperor's name and built a mosque in his capital (1666). In 1683 when the Black Qalmaqs invaded his country he begged the aid of his Suzerain. A Imperial force sent from Kabul under Fidai Khan (the son of the Kashmir Subedar Ibrahim Khan) drove the Qalmaqs out re-installed the Lama and returned in triumph with much booty.

Bernier visited Kashmir in 1664. He says that Begari rate was Rs. 20/- per 100 lb. weight. Elsewhere he writes : "The people of Kashmir are proverbial for their complexsions and fine forms. They are well made as the Europeans. The women especially are very handsome and it is from this country that nearly every individual when first admitted to the court of the Great Moghul, selects wives or concubines that his children may be whiter than the Indians and pass for genuine Moghuls."

The interval upto 1753 A.D. does not look very important. The Moghul prestige deteriorated gradually during Aurangzeb's successors. In 1720 A.D. Mulla Abdul Nabi alias Mull Khan who was the Sheikh-ul-Islam of Kashmir, gave instructions to the then Governor, Mir Ahmad Khan, to treat the Hindus harshly but the honest Governor refused. Mulla Khan then excited the Mohammedans against the Hindus. Mulla Khan was later on beheaded by one Sayid Azhar Khan in a Shia's house which resulted in the massacre of the Shias also at the hands of Sunnis. Mulla Sharaf-ul-Din succeeded his father as Sheikh-ul-Islam.

Abdul Samad, the fifth Governor, came from Lahore with huge army in 1722 A.D. He put Mulla Sharaf-ul-Din to death and in one excursion from Naid Kadal to Khwaja Yarbal he got about fifty rebels executed. He removed all the restrictions that were placed on the Hindus. There was justice again in the land and the poet sang :

Haka an Samad Phutrun zin,
Na rud kuni Sharaf no rud kuni Din.

"Samad (horse) came swiftly; there remained neither Sharaf (cardinalship) nor Din (bigotry) anywhere".

During the Governorship of Abdul Samad Khan (1720-1723 A.D.) anti-Hindu disturbances broke out in Kashmir, instigated by Mahbub Khan, 'Abdul Nabi', which ended in riot and pillage and in which Mahbub and others were killed (1720 A.D.).

Abdul Barkh Khan was at war with his officials. Each party set fire to the city which resulted in the destruction of 20,000 houses. This happened in Dil Diler Khan's time (1735-1738 A.D.).

Fakar-ud-Daula was deputed by Nadir Shah as Governor of Kashmir but Ati Ullah Khan (1739-1741) supported by his councillors opposed him destroying 15,000 houses of the city and suburbs.

It is recorded in an account that seven hundred and seventy gardens were laid out by the Moghuls in Kashmir alone. There is no doubt that they beautified every spot that came to their notice and Kashmir reacted very well to their feelings. They did not only love Nature, they had a fine sense of art. Their route to Kashmir was Gujrat—Bhimber—Shopian.

Ab-ul-Fazal writes : "But the bane of this country is its people. Yet, strange to say, notwithstanding its numerous population and the scantiness of the means of subsistence, thieving and begging are rare. They are artificers of various kinds who might be deservedly employed in the greatest cities. Although Kashmir has a dialect of its own their learned books are in the Sanskrit language. They have a separate character which they use for mss. work and they write chiefly on tuz which is the bark of a tree. The majority of the narrow minded conservatives, of bind traditions, are Sunnis. The most respectable class in this country is that of the Brahmins who notwithstanding their need of freedom from the hands of tradition and custom are true worshippers of God. They do not loosen the tongue of calumny against, not of their faith, nor beg nor importune. Safforn is also cultivated in Paraspur. Although 1/3 had been for a long time past the nominal share of the State, more than two shares are actually taken what has been reduced now to 1/2. The revenue amounted to 7 crores 46 lakhs 70,411 dams—(Rupees 18,66,766- 4-5)."

III

Afghan Rule in Kashmir

In the foregoing pages we have noticed the establishment and the end of the Afghan rule and have also described the varying methods which were adopted by individual Subedars in discharge of their administrative functions. Some of them were harsh and cruel. Some were of a moderate bent of mind, but generally they tried to establish an independent rule. But it may by no means be supposed that the Afghans were in any sense of the term religious maniacs fired with a fanatical zeal for the propagation of their faith. Their methods of Government were indeed crude and sometimes very cruel and oppressie, but all this had a political background and seldom theocratic. Forster who visited Kabul in 1783 A.D. says that he observed on his arrival at Kabul a common toleration of religion; that Christians, Hindus and Jews openly professed their creed and pursued their occupations without molestation. At another place the same gentleman observes that "Among the foreign nations who frequent this city (Kabul) the Hindus chiefly of Peshawar contribute more than any other to enrich it by a superior industry and knowledge of commerce; and they enjoy under the Afghan Government a liberty and protection little short of that experienced by the inhabitants of our Indian possessions. The benefits derived by a State from the residence of any class of people usually ensure to them a security of person and property, but the Hindus of Kabul are indebted I believe for special indulgence to one of their own sect, who controls the revenue of the Shah and stands high in favour." This tradition of religious toleration was carried with themselves by the Subedars who were deputed to Kashmir from Kabul. As a result we find that though at times the Kashmiri Pandits as a racial group were very harshly treated, but there was no ban on their appointed to any post, civil or military, on the ground of religion and as a matter of fact the history of Afghan rule in Kashmir will remain quite incomplete without mentioning the Kashmiri Pandit. Even during this period of unsettledness merchants and commercial agents of most of the principal cities of Northern India and also from Turkey. Persia and Tartary were seen in Kashmir. Forster adds "But the heavy oppressions of the Government and the rapacious temper of the bordering states, who exercise an unremitting rapacity on the foreign traders and often plunder whole cargoes, have reduced the commerce of Kashmir to a declining and a languid state."...with the result "that during Mogul rule the province contained forty thousand shawl looms and at this day there are not sixteen thousand." Forster at other place regrets that "since the dismemberment of Kashmir from the Empire of Hindostan, it has been subject to the Afghans, who possessing neither the genius for liberality of the Moguls have suffered its elegant structures to crumble into ruins and to hold out against them a severe testimony of the barbarity of their nation." It should be borne in mind that though Kashmir was a province under Afghanistan, there were many small principalities situate between Kashmir and Afghanistan, which were for all intents and purposes independent. This led to the weakening of the link between the two countries with the result that the central authority at Kabul did not interfere in Kashmir affairs, even though a Subedar may have grievously misbehaved, as long as the annual tribute was regularly paid. Forster explains this state affairs with the remark "But when it is considered that the approach to this remote province leads through hostile or independent territories that Taimur Shah (Kabul king) is equally withheld from distant enterprise by the accumulated arrears and consequent weakness of his army to which may be added the fear of domestic treason a sufficient cause will be seen for his passive regard to the interior Government of Kashmir, contenting himself with the tribute, he is seldom disposed to control the conduct of a remote Governor." The result of this weak central policy was that almost all the Subedars deputed from Kabul declared their independence at one time or the other and most of them made themselves responsible for very cruel and oppressive methods of administration. Forster adds that "during my residence in Kashmir I often witnessed the harsh treatment which the common people received at the hands of their masters, who rately issued an order without a blow of the side of their hatchet a common weapon of the Afghans." At other place Forster remarks "that this extreme rigour has sensibly affected the deportment and manners of Kashmirians who shrink with dread from the Afghan oppression." According to the same author "the manners of the people have undergone a manifest change since the dismemberment of their country from Hindostan. Encouraged by the liberality and indulgence of the Moguls they gave a loose to their pleasures and the bent of their genius. They appeared in gay apparel, constructed costly buildings.... The interests of this province were so strongly favoured at the Court (at Delhi) that every complaint against its Governors was attentively listened to and any attempt to molest the people restrained or punished." From this it becomes abundantly clear that the treatment of the Afghans towards Kashmiris, the vast majority of whom were Muslims was really very harsh. The Kashmiri Muslims were never enlisted in the army and in the civil administration too the Kashmiri Muslims had very little hand. It was held an established rule in the Afghan Government to refuse admission of a Kashmiri to the army. The army of Kashmir during this period consisted of about three thousand horse and foot who were mainly Afghans. They were seldom paid regularly and sometimes the arrears consisted of even two years' pay. Sometimes for want of better subsistence they lived on water nuts.

The province yielded a revenue of about 20 to 30 lacs of rupees out of which a tribute of about seven lacs was remitted to the Kabul treasury. But this account was seldom utilised in any beneficent projects. The Mogul gardens were lying in ruins excepting Shalimar garden, which was well looked after. Magnificent Mogul palaces near Hari Parbat hill were mere heaps of ruins. The palaces were dismantled and the stones and other material were used for unimportant purposes. Taking into consideration the decline in trade and commerce a revenue of about thirty lacs was indeed very exhorbitant. Revenue from shawl industry alone was computed at twelve lacs of rupees. "The price at the loom of an ordinary shawl was from eight to twenty rupees according to the quality of its work, though shawls worth a hundred rupees were also manufactured. Best paper in the East was manufactured here and a wine 'resembling that of Madeira' was produced here which possessed excellent quality. Essential oils from roses were held in great estimation and yielded an yearly income of more than a lac of rupees. Of the minerals iron of an excellent quality was found here. There were other industries which on account of lack of encouragement were languishing."

At other place Forster says that "the rupee is the current coin of Kashmir and that struck in Moradabad in Rohilcund is held in great estimation. From the baseness of the silver a large discount is allowed on that of Kashmir. Copper money of the value of a half penny and cowries, a small marine shell compose the other currency of the Province."

Forster has many harsh words for the Kashmiris. But in spite of all that he has had to say in their condemnation he has had to admit that even during those days of wanton cruelties and despotism "the Kashmiris are gay and lively people with strong propensities to pleasures. None are more eager in pursuit of wealth...or who devise more modes of luxurious expense. When a Kashmiri even of lowest order, finds himself in possession of ten shillings he loses no time in assembling his party and launches into the (Dal) lake and solaces himself till the last farthing is spent. Nor can the despotism of an Afghan Government which loads them with a various oppression and cruelty, eradicate this strong tendency to dissipation, yet their manners it is said, have undergone a marked change since the dismemberment of their country from Hindostan."

The lot of the Kashmiri Pandits when compared to other people was indeed happier. Though at times they were very harshly treated, yet the political power was generally and largely centred in their hands. The local bureaucracy was manned by them and some of them were employed in offices even at Kabul. Some others engaged themselves in trade and commerce and did good business both at Kabul and Kashmir. Whenever they found political firmament overcast with adverse clouds, they at once hurried to Kabul where they were always very well received, and stayed there till the return of better times. Along with this they had acquired to spirit of adventure which carried them in all parts of India : from Mir Jaffar's Bengal to Nizam's Haiderabad in the South, the Kashmiri Pandits had made their home everywhere. Moorcraft who came to Kashmir in 1822 A.D. found the Pandits as highest officers in petty Muslim principalities between Kabul and Kashmir. At Kathai, he found a Kashmiri Pandit, Nidhan Kabu, with a huge Tilak administration in his forehead, in charge of the administration in the principality. Even in the trans-border tribal areas there were Kashmiri Pandits. Forster while going to Kabul in 1783 A.D. was held up by a band of Afghan marauders near Dicka a border district of Afghanistan when a Kashmiri Pandit came to his rescue. Forster says "Not finding anything of value on my person they were proceeding to treat me with violence, when a Hindu of the family of the Diwan of Kashmir (Pandit Dila Ram) who had known me in that country interposed his good offices and proposed a ransom for my releasement.. This generous Hindu exerted so such warmth in my behalf and spoke so urgently to those marauders that one of them gave a severe blow on the face. He did not however desist and by an active perseverance and supported by a small sum of money, he accomplished his purpose."

The social system of the Pandits was peculiar to themselves. They had evolved their own customs and a ritual very rich in detail for their guidance in matters pertaining to marraiges and Yagnopavit ceremonies. These customs were followed by them all over India and even now these customs are followed with a slight variation. They never married outside their caste and seldom ate food prepared by a non-Pandit. But inspite of this isolationism in social matter, they fully imbibed the spirit of times. They used even in their private communications Hejiri era month and dates which were in use then and always carried their seals with themselves wherever they went. The religious functions they performed according to Hindu calendar.

The scholarship of the Pandits in Persian reached its high watermark during this period. They wrote exquisite poetry in Persian and were master writers in prose. Munshi Bhawani Das stands preeminent amongst the prose writers of the day. So also Lachhi Ram Saroor who rose very high at the Court of Nawabs of Oudh mainly because of his high poetical merit. Rai Rayan Anand Ram Karihalu was a great favourite of Shah Alam II and a great poet. He was a great Persian and Arabic scholar. So also Pandits Taba Ram Turki (1776 A.D. to 1847 A.D.), Sat Ram Baqaya, Pandit Daya Ram Kachru (1743 A.D. to 1811 A.D.) Aftab Bhan, Gobind Kaul, Kailas Dar (died 1772 A.D.) Lasa Kaul, Deva Kaul, Thakur Das, Gopal Dar (1735 A.D. to 1798 A.D.). Raja Kak Dar, Rugh Nath Kaul (1735 to 1807 A.D.) and many others. The contributions made by them to Persian literature have elicited the significant remarks from competent critics that in the mastery of the Persian language the Kashmiri Pandits were second only to the Persians. About pandit Anand Ram Karihalu it is remarked that his mastery of Arabic and Persian was so complete that even amongst the Muslims nobody could compete with him. Pandit Birbar Kachru (1789-1859 A.D.) to whom reference has been made in these pages has written a voluminous history of Kashmir. He has dealt with social and economic conditions of the people in a very detailed and lucid manner. Pandit Anand Ram Pahalwan has carried the History of Kashmir by Narain Kaul from 1712 A.D. to 1785 A.D. Birbar Kachru, besides being a historian, wrote good poetry as well.

The Kashmir Pandits of this period were very orthodox in religion, but that did not cripple their minds. In outdoor life they haved and described themselves as any other citizen would do. The use of words like Banda, Bandai Khas, Bandai Dargah, Ahqar, Ibn etc. with their names would show this. Not only that. That offered sometimes their prayers also in Perisan language, and prefixed even their Gods with such epithets as

Hazrat etc. Thus in a writing of 1155 Hejiri (1742 A.D.) we find "Banda hai gulamani Hazrati Sharda Devi Bhawani Barai Qadmbos wa Gusul Dar Kurukshetra Raseed." They had indeed eagernes to have a dip in the holy tank at Kurukshetra, but did not hesitate in using expressions and style which were not strictly of an orthodox type.

Kashmiri Pandit of those days freely entered military service. They found their way into Mahomedan, Marhatta, Sikh and English armies. For instance in various writing we find :

(a) Bandai Dargah Rupchand Parimoo Sakini Kani Kadal dar Amli Nawabi Zain Khan Bahadur (2) Anand Ram Valoo hamrahi Lashkari Zain Khan Bahadur dar Risalai Qassim Khan (3) Mehar Chand Kaul sakini Bagdaji Minmahlati Rainawari hamrahi Lashkari Zain Khan Bahadur.

(b) Banda Rupchand (2) Bhawani Das (3) Heeraman Pandit (4) Sada Kaul Hamrahi Lashkari Mohammad Said Khan Bahadur Rustan Jang Bahadur.

(c) Narain Pandit Sapru (2) Vishinath Pandit Sapru (3) Zind Ram Kaul, Hamrahi Lashkari Sidique Beg Khan Bahadur.

(d) Thakur Das Pandit Sapru (2) Fateh Chand Kaul (3) Sobha Shanker (4) Gopinath Chhachabali (5) Pandit Daya Ram walad Zind Ram. This gentleman bore the title of a Raja.

(e) Raja Sahib Ram Kaul (2) Banda Bishnath and (3) Bhawani Shankar hamrahi Lashkari Murshid Zada Ifaq Nawab Momamaduddoullah.

(f) Pandit Gangaram Bath hamrahi Lashkari Ambajee.

(g) Bandai Dargah Ram Narain Kaul uruf Kharu hamrahi Babujee Scindhia Bahadur.

(h) Heera Kal Zutshi hamrahi Buhl Sahib kidar Aqbi fauji Lake Sahib rawana shuda bud.

(i) Kishen Chand Kaul hamrahi Lashkari Fraser Sahib.

(j) Ajudhianath, hamrahi Thomas Metecalfe Sahib.

With a few exceptions, all these gentlemen mention their residence in Kashmir. Here or there we come across with a

Kashmiri Pandit who puts down his residence as Shah Jehanabad etc. None of them used Srinagar as their residence. The name Srinagar had fallen into disuse and the city was described by the name of Kashmir. The name Srinagar was revived by the Sikhs after many ceturies.

In this period also Kashmir fully maintained her fame for Sanskrit learning. Shri Sundara Kantha a great saint was a profound Shaiva philosopher. His disciple Shri Shivopadhayaya has written a learned and a lucid commentary on Vijnana Bhairva which is a treatise discussing 112 forms of meditation. It is written in the form of a dialogue between Bhairava and Bhairavi. Shivopadhyaya lived in Kashmir during Sukh Jiwan's reign (1754 A.D. to 1762 A.D.) Reference may also be made to Pandit Sahib Ram who was a great Sanskrit scholar. His profound scholarship has elicited highest praise from many European scholars and his works have been referred to by many students of history.

There have been yet many other Kashmiri Pandits and Panditanis who have made collosal contribution to Kashmiri poetry. To mention only two of them reference may be made to Pandit Parmanand and Shrimati Arini Mal. Pandit Parmananda's poetry is primarily devotional saturated with religious mystricism. But he was not a believer is asceticism or allofness from the world's cares and anxieties and responsibilities, though his primary aim in life has been to seek the "Supreme Bliss." In one of his poems, he says :

"Seek first the supreme bliss, O Parmanand, Then play fresh parts on life's stage, in rags of freshness clad...."

In an another poem of his, Parmananda is more explicit. Says he :

"In this nine windowed and
three storeyed house,
The mind looks out now through
This gate now that;
Make fast the smallest outlet, hold him in;
Then seek the ethereal skies within.

There shines,
Eternal Sun who by unborrowed light,
Illumines the worlds—who rises not
nor sets,
The burning breath of love will set
all things
Ablaze, like oil will water feed the flame,
The Ego melt to naught—that state is God.
The holy Sanctum seen, one need not be
Confined within, for God who lives
enshrined
In peace within, in Beauty shines without.
Throw open all sense gates and let the mind
Move freely in or out at its sweet will—
It can's alight where there is aught
but God."

[Translation by Pandit Zinda Kaul, popularly known as "Masterji"]

Shrimati Aranimal was the wife of Munshi Bhawani Das, an erudite Persian scholar to whom reference has been made in these pages more than once. Her lyrics are masterpieces in Kashmiri language and the word pictures of delicate sentiments drawn by her are so vivid, real and charming, that they few Kashmiri poets have reached the standard set by her. Some of her poems have been set to music and are sung even now by Kashmiri ministrels with great interest and gusto. Some of her poems have been translated into English by Principal J.L. Kaul, a cursory study of which is enough to establish the poetical genius and mastery of technique achieved by that unlettered woman.

Before bringing this review to a close reference may be made to a fact which would go a long way in proving the breadth of outlook and vision possessed by Kashmiri Pandits of this period. We have witnessed during this period a number of Shia Sunni riots, but not a single riot has taken place in which the participants were the Kashmiri Pandits. That the Kashmiri Pandits never gave a cause for grievance to any other community so as it provoke it to a riot, must go a long way in the eyes of any fair-minded critic to establish the cosmopolitan and broad outlook of the Kashmiri Pandits, though at the same time it may be mentioned that in their stead-fast devotion to their own religion the Kashmiri Pandits were second to none in this world. But this taught them to respect other religions in an equal manner which in its turn gained them the devotion and friendship of an overwhelming majority of their own countrymen and others. This paved the path for their rise in all branches of life to great heights. And this secured them an abiding place in History.

IV

Afghans

The Afghans came in 1753 A.D. under the leadership of Ahmad Shah Durani. Once again Kashmir fell from the frying pan into the fire and became subject to the tyrannical rule. This period, says Lawrence, was a time of brutal tyranny, unrelieved by good work of chivalry or honour. The whole period was a period of cruel reign and anarchy. Flagrant tyranny was common everywhere. About twentyeight Governors ruled upon the throne of Kashmir. Raja Sukh Jiwan became Governor in 1754 A.D. and it was during his reign that the-Hindus enjoyed some respite. He was defeated by Nur-ud-Din Khan Bamzai in 1762 A.D.

Lal Mohammad Khan (1766 A.D.) prosecuted the Hindus against all canons of chivalry. Khoram Khan was an unbiased Governor. He treated the Hindus well.

Mir Faqir Ullah Kant (1767 A.D.) took into his head that since his father was killed and possibly at the hands of Hindu he should take a heavy toll. Naturally he killed some and converted many to Islam. Khoram Khan (1770-71 A.D.) second time quelled a rebellion which had occurred in Kashmir. Haji

Karim Dad Khan (1776-83 A.D.) punished the entire Kant family for intriguing against him with Raja Ranjit Dev, the Raja of Jammu.

Azad Khan (1782-85 A.D.) invaded Poonch with his troops which he plundered for a week. He was succeeded by Madad Khan (1785-86 A.D.) and there is a well-known proverb 'Zulmi Azad a rasid Madad' which means that Madad outheroded Azad. In those days any Muslim who met a Hindu would say to him "Butta chhuk to khosa dita" (you are a Pandit and I will mount you). In the time of Abdul Ullah Khan (1796-1807), Ṣhah Shuja of Afghanistan marched to Peṣhawar for the conquest of Kashmir but he was recalled by Barukhazai rebellions—1805.

A Hindu named Dila Ram Kuli won favour of Haji Karimdad Khan and was appointed Dewan. Pandit Nand Ram Ṭiku, a renowned Kashmiri Pandit, became Prime Minister of Kabul during the Governorship of Mir Hazar Khan (1793-94 A.D.). For some time his name also appeared on the coins issued from Kabul. Zairam Bhan, a poor but sagacious Pandit, rose to the position of Dewan (under Nasir-us-Mohammad). Abdullah Khan is said to have amassed one crore of rupees within six months of his Governorship, this he took to Kabul. However bad the times were, the Hindus did exhibit their worth to the world and that under the patronage of their masters.

The curse of this period was that Governors were not faithful to their masters. They always remained on the look-out to seize an opportunity when they would declare themselves independent. The result was that few constructive measures were contemlated and fewer still carried out. Says the poet—

Khwast haq kin zamin-i-minarang
Chun dilai nai shawad ba Afghan rang
Kard bar wai musallat Afghan ra
Bagha Jamshed Dad dewan ra
"God willed that this paradise like land should
become miserable like the heart of (Hukka)
Pipe with Afghan (or gurgling noise)
caused Afghans to overrun it

Gave away the garden of Jamshed to demon."

This is another aspect of Afghan character. Even the so called heretic in their eyes could rise to the highest rung of the ladder. According to Dr. Sufi, Moghuls and Pathans discountenanced military service for Kashmiris. Elsewhere he says that Brahmins, Shias and the Bamhas were not treated properly (Kashir—677, 699). They sometimes cut off heads for plucking flowers.

'Sar buredan pesh in sangreen dilan gul chidan ast.'

V

Sikhs

Abdullah Ullah Khan (1796-1807 A.D.) was defeated by Sher Mohammad of Kabul at Dwabgah. The latter appointed his son Ata Mohammad Khan as Governor of Kashmir (1807-13 A.D.) Ata Mohammad imprisoned Shah Shuja and afterwards entered into a league with him. They both were defeated but let of by Sikhs on promise of an annual tribute of eight lakhs of rupees. But they outwitted Mohammad Khan and conspired with the Sikh General, Dewan Muhkam Chand.

Shah Shuja promised to surrender the famos Koh-i-Nur and Ata Mohammad the fort of Attock. He thus struck a double bargain. Wazir Fateh Mohammad Khan appointed his brother Sardar Azim Khan as Governor of Kashmir (1813-19 A.D.). He refused to pay the annual tribute and even defeated the Sikh squadron in a battle. Azim Khan went to help his brother who was engaged in war at Quandhar leaving Jabbar Khan (1819) behind to rule in his place. He compelled the Hindus to celebrate the Shivratri festival in the month of Har instead of in Phagan. This was at last a demonstration of despotism. Pandit Birbal Dhar fled to Lahore and sought help from the Sikhs. Ranjit Singh's army had made two attempts so far but had failed. The sagacious Pandit promissed them success. His wife had committed suicide while his daughter-in-law was seized and sent to Kabul. To avenge this insult he planned this scheme. The Sikhs came over the Pir Panchal. Their army consisted of 30,000 strong. A decisive battle was fought at Shopian in 1819 A.D. in which Pathans were routed. Man and horse fell before the onslaught of the victorious and it almost came to a panic among the Afghans.

Ranjit Singh was a great general though illiterate. He was always ready with a short and decided reply to any report read out to him. His memory was excellent and he seldom forgot a thing. His only eye was quick and searching. He possessed acute and lively imagination. In action he was always collected, he was not without faults. In youth he was liberal while in old age he became parsimonious. Moorecroft visited Kashmir in 1822 A.D. He gives a gloomy picture of what he saw. There is not mention anywhere that Ranjit Singh ever visited Kashmir.

The Sikh Governors were hard and rough masters. Every shawl was taxed 26 p.c. upon the estimated value. A Kotwal had a pay Rs. 30,000 for office.

If a Sikh killed non-Sikh he was fined from Rs. 16 to Rs. 20 out of which Rs. 4 were paid to the survivors of the killed. Kirpa Ram (1827-31) was nick-named 'Kirpa Shroin' (shroin being word for the sound of the boat paddle) so fond of boating he was. He is also said to have introduced crows to Kashmir thought to be necessary for the due performance of funeral rites. In 1831 A.D. a serious famine broke out in Kashmir which caused immense loss to the country. Some people even fled to the plains. In 1843 A.D. came the Bamhas under the leadership of Sultan Zabardast Khan. He was caught and imprisoned in Srinagar. To avenge this Sher Ahmad, the daring Bamha, destroyed seven thousand Sikhs at Kahori and marched with 8,000 match locks against Kashmir and defeated Imamud-din with an army of 12,000 strong at Shilbal. There upon Zabardast Khan was delivered back. This war weakened the Sikh hold in Kashmir. In the same year Mohi-ud-Din opened the gates of Jamia Masjid which had been closed since 1819 A.D. The famine of 1831 A.D. was closely followed by a great flood. A big earthquake and cholera broke out in 1827 A.D. which swept away bulk of the population.

The line of Emperors who proceeded from Babar's loins are no more. The Afghans and Sikhs also have disappeared. The Muslims were, as a general rule, shortsighted people deadly opposed to time honoured institutions other than their own. Had they adopted a policy of toleration and respected the sentiments of the so-called 'heretics' they would have become objects of reverence and admiration. Sikandar and rulers of his type grew to be the bugbears of the people. This is unfortunately in nut-shell the verdict of authentic history about some Muslim rulers in Kashmir. With all this the Hindu did not give up his study, however much to penury he was reduced. He learnt the Persian tongue better than its pioneers. The Muslims sometimes appreciated the merit of Hindus. Instances have been quoted showing how the Hindus often rose to high power only through merit. Says the author of 'Emerald set with Pearls', "These Eastern potentates had some magnificent qualities and in some cases their administration was superior to our own." The population of Kashmir in the present days is about 17,28,705 and nearly 90 out of every hundred are Muslims. Nine hundred years ago there were no Muslims north of the Punjab. The Sikhs, on the other hand, were neither too good nor too bad but internal dissensions among the Sirdars brough about their early fall. It is true that the people under them would have been none the better because they were only a martial class first and last with little vision to organise and to expand. In spite of about a quarter century of power in Kashmir the Sikhs did not expand beyond the valley. They were divided like the Highlanders of Scotland.

While fortunes of the country devolved on the finger of a ruler, apparently, sovereignty ultimately rested with the people. It was sometimes alliance between Kashatrias and Brahmins, Brahmins and Buddhists, Brahmins and Nagas and sometimes rift between Sayids and Kashmiris, Sunnis and Shias. There was no period without unrest and outsiders always came with the co-operation of Kashmiris themselves.

8

The Buddhist Monuments

"The Buddha, most excellent in the three worlds."

Jainalankara

Kashmir's contribution to the development of Buddhism has been acknowledged by research scholars. Historical evidences mention a large number of Buddhist relics to have existed in this land. A detailed description of some important Buddhist sites and monuments needs to be given in the following pages.

Narendrabhavana

Surendra, the son of Khagendra built a vihara, known as Narendrabhavana in the town of Soraka, in the Darada country. Both the town and the vihara has not been traced.

Saurasavihara

Surendra also built a vihara called Saurasa. This vihara also remains unidentified.

Jaloravihara

Janaka established the vihara of Jalora, which may be identified with Zohar in Zaingir, Spore, Kashmir.

Dharmaranyavihara

Raja Asoka built a vihara in the town of Vitastatra. It was lofty and high. He also built stupas at Suskaletra. Both the towns have been identified as Vethavutur and ukalitar, situated in Verinag and Badgham. Some ancient relics are found at Verinag spring. At Kukalitar, a few statues of Buddha were found.

Krtyasramvihara

Jaloka has been metioned to have built the vihara of Krtyasrama. This place has been identified with the village Kitshom, near Baramulla, Kashmir. Ou-Kong mentions this vihara as Ki-tche.

Juskapuravihara

Juska is said to have built a vihara at Juskapura, a village to the north of Srinagar.

Huska has been mentioned to have built a vihara at Huskapura, mentioned as Hu-se-kia-lo by Hiuen Tsiang. It is known as Uskur now and is situated near Barakulla, Kashmir. Lalitaditya (725-753 A.D.) also built some stupas and viharas at Uskur.

Amritabhavana

Queen Amritaprabha built a vihara, known as Amritabhavana for the use of foreign monks. Ou-Kong mentioned it as Ngo-mi-to-po-wan. Amritabhavana has been identified at Antbhavan, Vicharnag, 3 miles to the north of Srinagar. Remains of a vihara have been found at this place.

Lo-stonpavihara

A Ladakhi guru is said to have built a stupa, called Lo-stumpa, during the reign of Meghavahana. It has not been located.

Nadavana vihara

Queen Yukadevi, is said to have built a vihara at Nadavana, which was wonderful and beautiful. Nadavana has been identified with Narvor in Srinagar, Kashmir. The vihara is non existent at present.

Indradevibhavana

Queen Indradevi is said to have built a vihara, called Indradevibhavanavihara. This vihara is non existent at present.

Khadavavihara

Queen Khadana is said to have built a vihara at Kadanyar near Baramulla, Kashmir. No traces have been found.

Jayendravihara

Jayendra, the maternal uncle of Parvarasena II built the vihara known as Jayendravihara. A colossal statue of Buddha was installed in it. Hiuen Tsiang has mentioned it as Che-ye-in-to-lo and on his arrival to Kashmir in 631 A.D. he stayed in it. This vihara was burned by Ksemagupta and its statue was melted down by him to make a statue of Siva. Location of this vihara requires to be searched either at Chattabal, Srinagar or at Ushkur in Baramulla. Attached villages of the Vihara, being given to the Khasa chief, indicate Ushkur as the correct alternative.

Skandavhavanavihara

Skandavhavanavihara was built by Skandagupta, one of the ministers of Yudhisthira. Its location has been determined as somewhere in the modern mohalla of Khandabavan in Srinagar, Kashmir. Nothing remains of this vihara.

Kridaramavihara

Lalitaditya (725-753 A.D.) is credited to have constructed the Kridaramavihara, position where of is unknown.

Rajavihara

Rajavihara was built by Lalitaditya at Parihaspura. It housed a colossal statue of Buddha besides other relics of gold and silver. Parihaspura was the new capital built by the King near the confluence of the river Jhelum and the river Sindh on a plateau between Panznor and Hartarath near Divar-ekamanpura. The plateau is nearly 2 miles long and 1 mile wide. The site of the capital and vihara is in ruins. Its material was transported by Skankravarman(883-902 A.D.) for the construction of Siva temples. Harsha also removed the remaining statues from this site. Examination of the site reveals that the Rajavihara was a quadrangle of 26 cells around a square courtyard paved with stones. These cells were used by the monks. These are located, bases of other viharas.

Cankunavihara

During, Lalitaditya's reign, Cankuna built a vihara in which he placed golden statues of Buddha. This vihara was built by him at Srinagar. Cankuna appears to be the title of one of the ministers of Lalitaditya. As he was a Turk, it is evident that he came from Sinkiang and bore a Chinese title Taiang Kiun, which has been Sanskritized by Kalhana.

Jayapidavihara

Jiyadipa (754-784 A.D.) built a large vihara at Jayapura, in which he placed three statues of Buddha. Jayapura has been identified as Anderkot, near Sumbal in Kashmir.

Ratnadevivihara

Jayasimha's (1128-1149 A.D.) Queen Ratnadevi built a magnificient vihara at Ratinpur, now known as Ratinpura.

Shadarhavana

At Harwan, two miles away from the Shalimar garden in Srinagar, near the water reservoir, a very important Buddhist site was discovered by Mr. R.C. Kak in 1925 A.D. He unearthed a stupa, a set of cells and a rectangular courtyard with diaper pebble walls. A large number of tiles with Kharoshthi numerals and beautiful motifs and human figures was found, which shows that the site belongs to the later period of the Kushanas in Kashmir.

Ahan

At Ahan, near Sumbal, on the banks of a tiny lake, known as Ahansar, another important Buddhist site was located by Prof. F.M. Hassnain in 1962. He unearthed a payment decorated with the same kind of Harwan tiles, some pebble style walls and a delapidated stupa. No further excavations have been done at the site.

Kuvanavihara

It was specially constructed as a venue of the fourth Buddhist Council in Kashmir, held during the reign of Kanishka. It is also known as Kundalvanavihara.

Raithan and Rajagir

The village of Raithan is at a distance of 12 Kilometers from Srinagar. It is situated in the vicinity of Yecchgam and Yecchkot, the original habitations of the Yakshas, the guardian tribes of the fourth Buddhist Council records. Many a Buddhist relics are found in the area, including the famous Budoha panel.

9

The Dogra Conquest

The sleepy life of the small Himalayan kingdom was brusquely interrupted by the invasion of the Dogra army of Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu.

Our sources on the events of 1834-1842 are the following. (1) The Chronicle, which for this period is limited to Ms. *C*, in three versions (*Ca*, *Cb*, *Cc*) corresponding to three subsequent elaborations by its compiler, Munshi Ts'e-rin-dpal-rgyas; to these we can add Ms. *Sonam*, which represents a fourth, fuller version of Ms. *C*. (2) The reminiscences of Ts'e-brtan, an old man of K'a-la-rtse, who in his younger days had done military service in the Dogra wars; published and translated in Francke 1926. (3) The account of Basti Ram, a high Dogra officer and one of the early wazirs of Ladakh, written (possibly in Urdu) at the request of Cunningham, who included an English version of it in his book; it stops with the reinstatement of the old king in 1839, and the rest of the narrative down to the final Dogra conquest is told according to an unspecified source, which Cunningham calls "other information". To these, Gergan adds three more. (4) An account added to the series of the descendants of Padma-dkar-po. (5) An account of the mishaps and destructions undergone by the Lamayuru monastery during the war, compiled in 1862 by its *bla-zur* dKon-mc'og-ran-grol (of little importance). (6) Oral account of the personal experiences of a *drun-yig* of king Ts'e-dpal-rnam-rgyal. These three sources are not available to me, and I know them only through the quotations made by Gergan.

On the basis of the sources 1-3 (with the exclusion of Ms. *Sonam*) the tale of the fall of the Ladakhi kingdom was pieced together by Francke and, more recently and better informed, by Datta; the detailed account of the latter is supplemented by interesting collateral evidence supplied by the reports of British officers on the border, who watched as interested spectators the extinction of the small mountain kingdom. As to the Chinese documents, they are relevant only for Zorawar Singh's campaign in Western Tibet. It is worthwhile to recount the story once more, if nothing else because the Ms. *Sonam*, now available, supplies some details not found elsewhere, being particularly useful for the events that followed Zorawar Singh's tragic end. Besides, the chronology of the events needs revision in some cases.

The twenties of the 19th century saw the slow, but continuous rise of Gulab Singh (1792-1857), first as a factor in the political life of the Sikh kingdom of the Panjab, then as the ruler of Jammu under Sikh suzerainty. Ably supported by his brothers, in the course of about fifteen years he built up a solid centre of power in the hills bordering the plains of the Panjab. In 1834 he turned his eyes toward Ladakh; he gathered a force of about 5000 men and placed it under the command of his best lieutenant. Zorawar Singh Kahluria (1786-1841), entrusting him with the task of conquering Ladakh and perhaps Baltistan as well. In July 1834 Zorawar Singh set out from Kashtwar, of which country he was the governor, crossed the Bhot Khol pass and entered Purig.

The Ladakhis were taken by surprise. the young king mC'og-sprul was preparing to leave for a pilgrimage to the Kailasa; an although he had heard of threatening Dogra movements, he would not postpone his journey; on 4. Vi (21st July) he started with a slender attendance. Practically this spelt the end of his four-years rule, because during his absence the task to cope with the emergency fell upon the shoulders of his father. The latter assembled a scratch force, with which on the 16th August the sTog *blon-po* rDo-Rje-rnam-rgyal gave battle to the invaders at San-k'u; he lost, but the defeat was by no means decisive. The Dogras slowly advanced to Suru and then to Pa-skyum, where they halted during the winter. Prince mC'og-sprul returned home in the 11th month (January 1835), but even after he acted only as the junion colleague of his father; and indeed about this time the Chronicle speaks of the kings Ts'e[-dban-rab]-brtan-rnam-rgyal and [Ts'e-dpal-]Don-grub-rnam-rgyal.

During this lull the sTog-po *blon-po* tried to negotiate. The Ladakhis availed themselves also of the presence of an Englishman, Dr. Henderson, who had arrived at Leh and was prevented from departing; they tried to give the impression that he was there because charged of a mission by the British government. But an enquiry through Ranjit Singh elicited the fact that he had entered Ladakh against the positive orders of his government. So the Dogra refused to be intimidated and in the end Henderson was allowed to depart, via Baltistan; he arrived in Kashmir in November 1835. At that moment Zorawar Singh would have been content to retire in consideration of a tribute of 15,000 rupees. The king and his son would have agreed to this, thus saving their country from invasion (at least for the time being); but the queen succeeded in vetoing the arrangement. Substantial reinforcements were set in march for Purig under the command of the Leh *blon-po* dNos-grub-bstan-'dzin and of the Nubra *blon-po* rDo-rje-bstan-'dzin. Early in April 1835 a picked battle was fought at Lan-mk'ar-rtse and ended with the utter defeat of the Ladakhis. The sTog *blon-po* rDo-rje-rnam-rgyal, a mere boy of 15 years, was killed; dNos-grub-bstan-'dzin was wounded and taken prisoner. This battle was decisive; although the Ban-k'a *bka'-blon* of lCe-'bre attacked the rear of the victors and recovered a part of the booty, his was a mere raid, and after this passing success he escaped to Baltistan.

After the battle the main Dogra force advanced without opposition through Mulbhe, mK'ar-bu and Lamayuru, as far as Ba-sgo. No fight was left in the Ladakhis; the king bowed to the inevitable and went to meet Zorawar Singh at Ba-sgo. Then both moved to Leh, where an agreement was negotiated and signed; the prince took no part in this, although later he was induced to pay his homage to Zorawar Singh. Ts'e-dpal-rnam-rgyal was confirmed on his throne, but only as a vassal of Raja Gulab Singh, subjected to an annual tribute of 20,000 rupees and a war indemnity of 50,000 rupees. Munshi Daya Ram was stationed in Leh as representative of the Jammu Raja. After a stay of four months in Leh, and before the winter closed the passes, in October 1835 Zorawar Singh left Ladakh at the head of his victorious forces.

During the following months the king tried to obtain support elsewhere, in order to limit the Dogra requests upon Ladakh and to safeguard its threatened independence. After the departure of Zorawar Singh he wrote to Claude Wade, the British Agent at Ludhiana, asking for help against the Dogras; but the British, although bringing the point to the attention of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, were bound by the treaty of 1809, which forbade them to interfere with the territories beyond the Satlej. In 1836 the national party at the Ladakhi court, headed by the Ban-k'a *bka'-blon* and by *p'yag-mdzod* bSod-nams-dban-p'yug, the favourite of the queen, definitely gained the upper hand; even the Sikh governor of Kashmir, who was jealous of the successes of Gulab Singh, incited the king to revolt. In November of that year the king sent a special envoy to the British Political Agent at Subathu, seeking British protection and promising tribute; but in January 1837 the Calcutta government rejected the offer. Once more, in the summer of 1837, the king sent a seven-men embassy to Sir Henry Fane, the British Commander-in-Chief, then at Simla; the envoys contracted smallpox there and all of them died. But already in July the Government had written to the Commander-in-Chief reiterating that "no hope of assistance can be held out to the Raja of Ladakh". On 30th August the Raja of Ladakh again wrote to Sir Henry Fane, requesting him to procure a *parwana* from Maharaja Ranjit Singh and another from his own government, restraining the invaders from further depredations; and once more he got a negative reply. The name of the ruler in the English translation of this letter is given as Jank Raften Numkin, i.e. Ts'an(=Ts'e-dban)-rab-brtan-rnam-rgyal. This implies that at that time the mC'og-sprul was still formally king, although he played second fiddle to his father since 1834.

Thus the insurrection broke out openly, and Munshi Daya Ram was cast into prison. At that time Zorawar Singh was campaigning in Zans-dkar, where he obtained the submission of the country. Upon hearing of the revolt, he started at once, and by forced marches in a few days reached Leh. The Ladakhis were completely surprised before they had time to organize a resistance. Prince-king mC'og-sprul, who already in 1835 had a personal clash with Zorawar Singh and could not hope for pardon, fled by a roundabout route to Nubra, then to Dran-rtse (Tankse) where he found his mother, and finally to Spiti; he was hotly pursued, till in October 1837 he reached a haven of refuge in the British-protected state of Bashahr. The British settled him with a small pension at Kotgarh, where he died in 1839, his mother dying soon after. Ts'e-dpal-rnam-rgyal was deposed and given as *jagir* the village of sTog. The vacant throne was offered first to the *drag-sos* of K'a-la-rtse, who, being loyal to his king, refused, whereupon he was imprisoned and deported to Jammu. Then Zorawar Singh appointed the Leh *bka'-blon* dNos-grub-bstan-'dzin as regent (*rgyal-ts'ab* or *srid-skyon*); he was given the Indian title of Raja, but not the Tibetan title of *rgyal-po*. The Ba-sgo *bka'-blon* Ts'e-dban-rab-brtan became premier minister. A fortress (*qila*) was built near Leh and a garrison of 300 men, under the command of Magna *thanadar*, was stationed there. A Ladakhi delegation went to Jammu; it was composed of the son of the new ruler the Leh *blon-po* 'Gyur-med, the rGya chief Ts'e-brtan, Ts'e-dban-rab-brtan and others. Actually they were hostages for the good behaviour of dNos-grub-bstan-'dzin.

Of course these arrangements were made in the name of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, who became the theoretical overlord of Ladakh. His position as such was acknowledged in a document containing the agreement between the new ruler of Ladakh and the Sikh government; and in the summer of 1838 Ranjit

Singh received a tribute of Rs. 30,000 and a variety of presents, brought to Lahore by a mission sent by dNos-grub-bstan-'dzin.

About that time (1837) Ladakh was visited by the British traveller G.T. Vigne. His account of Ladakh is not very interesting, but a conveys a graphical impression of the utter helplessness of Raja "Marut Tunzin" (dNos-grub-bstan-'dzin) as a mere puppet in the hands of Gulab Singh and his representatives. The Dogra resident Jnan Singh watched him so jealously, that when Vigne wanted to have an interview with the Raja, he had to crash the gate and to force his way into the Leh palace and to the presence of the ruler. Vigne asked him for assistance in the name of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, but in the meantime Jnan Singh had entered in all haste; and the Raja, "who was decidedly alarmed, told me that he was willing to give me the assistance I wanted, but that he was prevented by the fear of Raja Gulab Singh". It was a typical situation of protectorate, in the technical sense found in British and French colonial administration of the 19th century.

Later, most probably in 1839, a rebellion broke out in Zans-dkar. It spread also to Purig under the lead of one Sukamir of Hem-babs (Dras). Zorawar Singh, as usual acted with lightning speed. He entered Zans-dkar, crushed easily the insurrection there, then marched straight to Leh, thus isolating the rebel area in Purig, which collapsed at once. Some of the Purig chiefs escaped to Baltistan; Sukamir surrendered and was publicly executed. dNos-grub-bstan-'dzin, in arrears with the tribute and suspected of complicity with the rebels, tried to escape via Spiti, but was caught near Tabo, brough back to Leh, deposed and imprisoned. The old king Ts'e-dpal-rnam-rgyal was reinstated, upon a guarantee of regular tribute, to which the expenses for the Dogra occupation forces were added. Of course his possition was one of dignity without power, actual government being in the hands of the Ban-k'a *bka'-blon* and of the Ba-sgo *bka'-blon* under close Dogra supervision. To this short period belongs the last royal document from Ladakh : an endorsement of a promise of marraige of marriage of a girl of the Sel-gzin-k'an family with a member of the K'an-gsar-k'an family of dKar-zva, dated 1840.

After this new settlement of Ladakhi affairs, Zorawar Singh turned his attention to Baltistan; relations with the Skardo ruler Ahmad Shah had been strained for many years, and a *casus belli* was easily found. The story of the conquest of Baltistan lies outside the limits of the present study and has been fully told elsewhere. I shall limit myself to the Ladakhi part in it. In November 1839 Zorawar Singh summoned the Ladakhi militia for service in the Balti campaign, under the command of Ga-ga Ban-k'a *bka'-blon* bsTan-'dzin. The old king was to accompany him. The measure was intended above all to prevent a rebellion in Ladakh during the absence of the Dogra forces, the more so as the Ban-k'a *bka'-blon* had been in 1837 one of the leaders of the opposition party. On the whole the Ladakhi militiamen, whatever their feelings, behaved creditably in the campaign. The Baltis were defeated after having offered a stout resistance. Skardo was stormed, Ahmad Shah was taken prisoner and Baltistan acknowledged the suzerainty of Gulab Singh. The Purig rebels, who had taken refuge in Baltistan, were executed. But on the march back, at K'a-pu-lu smallpox broke out in the army, and both king Ts'e-dpal-rnam-rgyal and the Ban-k'a *bka'-blon* fell victims to the epidemic, Their bodies were cremated at sTog by mGon-po, the He-mis *p'yag-mdzod*. Zorawar Singh installed as tributary ruler of Ladakh the little prince 'Jigs-med-c'os-kyi-sen-ge Mi-'gyur Kun-dga'-rnam-rgyal, the son of the deceased heir-apparent mC'og-sprul (middle of 1840).

The success of Zorawar Singh has been thus far uniform and brilliant. No wonder if he sought new fields for his activity and other provinces to add to the dominions of his master. At first he turned his eyes to Yarkand, and even summoned the Chinese governor of that town to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Sikh government. But then he gave up the project, either because of the inherent difficulties or because of the strongly negative attitude of the British; to these motives we may perhaps add the fear of irreparable damage to the transit trade over the passes.

The other possible alternative was Western Tibet, which the Ladakhi sources of that time, and Moorcroft in agreement with them, call Byan-t'an; the old rights of the Ladakhi kings on that country could be revived and turned to the use of the conqueror. The project was daring to the point of being foolhardy; not to speak of the logistical difficulties, it violated Chinese territory and clashed against British interests. But the old fox Ranjit Singh had died and the Sikh government was going to pieces under his weak successors; so there was no longer a strong hand to restrain the ambitions of Gulab Singh and Zorawar Singh. Early in 1841 the general sent a peremptory request of tribute to the Tibetal commissioners (*sgar-dpon*) of mNa'-ris, and upon receiving an unsatisfactory reply, marched into the country.

Zorawar Singh started on his adventure with an army of about 6000 men, half of them Dogra soldiers and the rest being Ladakhis and Baltis, mostly as camp followers; he had also six small guns. He brought with himself, more as hostages than as lieutenants, some prominent dignitaries from Ladakh and Baltistan; they were the deposed Skardo ruler Ahmad Shah, the Ba-sgo *bka'-blon* Ts'e-dban-rab-brtan and his brother No-no bSod-nams, the *lha-bdag* Ts'e-rin-stobs-rgyas, the Sa-bu *bka'-blon* and the He-mis *p'yag-mdzod* mGon-po, who was in charge of supplies. They were followed later by *dbon-po* Rig-'dzin and Ts'e-dban-rdo-rje, acting as paymasters (*p'og-dpon)*. The invasion started in April 1841 and met at first with uniform success. The local levies were scattered without difficult and most of the country was occupied, including the main military posts; the most important, the old royal capital Tsaparang, was entered on 23rd August 1841.

Zorawar Singh's conquest of Western Tibet roused the hopeful expectations of the Nepalese Darbar, and the concern of the British authorities of Kumaon and of the Calcutta government. The British even sent an ultimatum to the Lahore court (December), but in those very days the situation was completely reversed by the catastrophe of Zorawar Singh and his forces. sPel-bzi (bSad-sgra) dBan-p'yug-rgyal-po had been sent to command the local forces, but these were practically non-existent and he evacuated the country. Upon his urgent call for reinforcements, the Lhasa government sent a strong and well-supplied force under the command of Zur-k'an *bka'-blon* Ts'e-brtan-rdo-rje and of mDo-mk'ar (or Rag-k'a-sar) *bka'-blon* 'Gyur-med-ts'e-dban-dpal-'byor. Several Dogra units were defeated piecemeal, and this was the fate (19th November) of a column under the command of No-no bSod-nams, who was taken prisoner. Zorawar Singh tried to retrieve a hopeless position by a resolute attack. But on the 14th December 1841 (date from Chinese sources) at Do-yo (To-yü of the Chinese), in the neighbourhood of sTag-la-mk'ar (Taklakot, the capital of Pu-rans), the main Dogra force was overwhelmed by the Tibetans. Zorawar Singh was hit by a bullet and fell from his horse. He defended himself with his sword, but one Ya-so hit him twice with his lance, then cut his throat with a sword-stroke and decapitated him, carrying his head away as a trophy. The Dogra force was wiped out, most being killed, some being taken prisoners. Ahmad Shah, the Basgo *bka'-blon,* the *p'yag-mdzod* mGon-po, the Sa-bu *blon-po* of Sa-spo-la and others were taken prisoners. The garrison of sTag-la-mk'ar, commanded by Basti Ram, escaped to Kumaon, half of it perishing as victim to the climate while crossing the passes. By the end of March 1842 all the military posts of mNa'-ris had been re-occupied by the Tibetans.

Of course the disaster of the Dogra army stirred the Ladakhis, who hoped to recover their lost independence. The Tibetan commanders, though not ready to invade Ladakh in force, despatched the Hemis *p'yag-mdzod* mGon-po, known to many of them since his visit to Lhasa with the *lo-p'yag* and who had agreed to play their game rousing the people against the Dogras. He addressed a letter to the widow of prince mC'og-sprul at Leh, urging her to summor the militia of Upper and Lower Ladakh. He sent ahead the bSam-pa *dbon-po* Ts'e-dban-rab-brtan, then followed himself. Soon the whole of Ladakh revolted and all the Dogra posts either were massacred or managed to take refuge in the fort of Leh (1st month of 1842); that strong position was placed in state of defence by its energetic leaders, the *thanadar* Manga Ram and the Kumedan (commandant) Pehlwan Singh, who sent word of the revolt to Jammu. When mGon-po arrived at Leh, he proclaimed the independence of Ladakh under its boy king Kun-dga'-rnam-rgyal, with the Leh *blon-po* as regent and himself as Prime Minister; he even revived the old royal court. The winter was spent in preparations, while the revolt spread also to Lower Ladakh, to K'a-pu-lu, and to Baltistan, where the Dogra garrison and the puppet ruler were besieged. All the Ladakhis from the age of 18 to 70 were called to arms and formed in units commanded by the local notables. Even a Balti force came to Leh to cooperate in the siege of the fort. Weapons of all sorts were collected from the old store, although most of them had been empited by the Dogras, and others were manufactured with crude means in the villages. The insurgents received also support from Tibet : a small force of 100 horse and 500 foot under *mda'-dpon* sPel-bzi (bSad-sgra) entered Ladakh and encamped at lCe-'bre.

But the defence of the Dogra fort at Leh proved insuperable. As the available forces were amply sufficient, the Kumedan Pehlwan Singh, who did not agree overmuch with the *thanadar* Manga Ram, built up a defensive position of his own around the barracks (Tib. *c'a-'gon,* from Hindi *chanon)* on the outskirts of Leh. A Ladakhi attempt at storming both strongholds failed. As the rebels had ho artillery, they tried to manufacture cannon utilizing the iron bars which formed a part of the annual revenue from Spiti, and which were brought to Ladakh via Purig; also, the abbot of K'rig-se was summoned to practise his magical arts against the Dogras. Both endeavours failed, the new cannon proving as unservicable as the curses of the abbot. Then the Ladakhi resorted to a regular siege; the *mda'-dpon* with 50 Tibetan soldiers established himself in Sen-ge-rnam-rgyal's palace (April 1842), and the Ladakhi militia surrounded both the fort and the barracks with a parapet. A continuous fire against the Dogra positions was maintained for twelve days. At the end of them a Dogra officer called Miya Rana sailed out with thirty men and fell upon a Balti unit which held a part of the siege perimetre; it broke and fled. To follow up this success, Magna Ram made a sortie with half a battalion (*paltan*), putting to flight the Ladakhis in front of him. The situation was saved by the Ga-ga of Nubra with his countrymen and the Dogras retired to their entrenchments, not without heavy loss. This affair had as a consequence severe reprisals by the villagers of the neighbourhood against the Town people of Leh who were suspected of sympathies with the Dogras. They looted the He-mis Bla-bran, where the booty from mNa'-ris had been stored by the orders of Zorawar Singh. Some merchants were beaten, some were killed. A few notables, and foremost *dbon-po* Rig-'dzin, were imprisoned and handed over to the Tibetans. Desultory fighting continued for six days and nights.

In the meantime, as Gulab Singh was engaged on the Afghan frontier, his brother Dhyan Singh raised a force of 5000 soldiers, well equipped to endure the cold and also armed with some pieces of artillery. In February 1842 this force marched out of Kashmir under the command of Dewan Hari Chand and of Wazir Ratanu, the same who as an officer of the Chamba Raja had fought the Ladakhis in 1825. Reserve units from Jammu and from Kashmir were to follow. After a slow and very difficult march, first over the snow of the passes and then through swollen torrents, the army at last arrived at K'a-la-rtse. As soon as the news reached Leh, the siege was raised, and the minister, the *lha-bdag* Ts'e-rin-stobs-rgyas, the boy king and his mother fled by night; they encamped at Ron-Lig-tse (Likchey of the maps), where they cut the bridge over the Indus. The Tibetal force stayed on at lCe-'bre, while their main army concentrated at Klun-g.yog-ma beyond the Byan-la. The situation was very serious, and on 18th April mGon-po wrote to J.D. Cunningham, a British officer then on the border, to obtain British support against the Dogras. But Cunningham, bound by the orders and general policy of his government, turned down the request (letter of 3rd May, 1842). Also the near-unanimity till then reigning among the insurgents gave way before the adversities. Rig-'dzin, who was to be handed over to the Tibetans, freed himself by a stratagem and managed to reach the Dogra camp. He was well received and was appointed *bka'-blon;* he summoned the Ladakhis to make their submission, and many followed his call. In the meantime the Dewan had reached Leh (May 1842). After two days he left the town to pursue the retreating enemy, while Magna Ram and the new *bka'-blon* remained at Leh to organize the supplies. About the same time a strong force under Wazir Lakhpat Rai marched to Baltistan, relieved the garrison of Skardo and crushed the rebellion in that quarter.

The new Dogra invasion brough many hardships to Ladakh. All the monasteries from the border to Lamayuru were partly or wholly destroyed. sGan-snon was spared, and this was attributed to the virtues and the saintly life of a monk dKon-mc'og-rgyal-mts'an, who did allow himself to be disturbed in his deep meditation by the invaders; the monks were simply required to furnish food and fuel. At lCe-'bre the Dewan clashed against the 500 Tibetan soldiers posted there; he surrounded them and cut the water supply from the nearby stream. After enduring the thirst for one day, being reduced to drinking the urine of horses and donkeys and all attempts at breaking out having failed, the Tibetans eventually surrendered. This meant the end of hostilities in the main portion of Ladakh, i.e. the Indus valley. The local people made what terms they could. Thus the new He-mis *p'yag-mdzod* bSod-nams-blo-zab went to the Dogra commander and promised to send supplies; in this way he obtained that his monastery was spared, and even that a small guard was posted at the entrance to repeal marauders.

Then the Diwan and the Wazir crossed the Byan-la and sent ahead the Kumedan Maca Singh with 500 men to occupy rDo-k'ug. In the meantime the remnant of the Tibetan troops in Ladakh with the king and his ministers had left Ron Lig-tse and retreated to Klun-g.yog-ma. There they were joined by Zur-k'an and Rag-k'a-sar with a reinforcement of 5000 men freshly arrived from Lhasa. They sent a corps of 2000 Tibetans accompanied by what was left to the Ladakhi forces against rDo-k'ug. The attacked the village for a whole night, but became disordered, and when their leader A-k'yam was shot and killed, they broke and fled, pursued by the Kumedan. Their flight was stopped at the bridge of K'ra-rug (Taruk of the maps) by the Tibetan *p'yag-mdzod* Mig-dmar, some *ru-dpon,* the Ba-sgo *bka'-blon,* the *lha-bdag* and the Leh *blon-po,* who managed to throw back the pursuers.

After this battle the Dewan with the Dogra main force arrived at rDo-k'ug, while the Tibetans retreated to Klun-g.yog-ma, where they threw up some earthworks in the marshy plain. The Dogras occupied three hills dominating the enemy camp. There was desultory fighting for about two months, the Tibetans suffering losses from gunfire (among them the *p'yag-mdzod* Mig-dmar) and the Dogras loosing many men from mountain-sickness, among them the Kumedan Maca Singh; other losses were caused to them by a fire and explosion due to a cook dropping burning coals near a powder-keg. Eventually, on the advice of a local Ladakhi official, the T'an-pa *'go-pa* bSod-nams-'byor-ldan, the Dogras damamed up the river in a narrow gorge, so that for three days the water flowed back inundating the valley. The Tibetan camp in the swamps was flooded, powder and equipments became wet, supplies were spoilt. As resistance to an attack had become impossible, the Tibetan leaders bowed to the inevitable and capitulated. It was a complete surrender, and the Dewan and the Wazir returned to Leh in triumph, carrying along as prisoners the two *bka'-blon, mda'-dpon* sPel-bzi (bSad-sgra) and fifty officers, while the common soldiers were allowed to return home (September 1842). The *bka'-blon* Rag-k'a-sar could not survive his disgrace, and while passing the Wam-le defilee he swallowed a diamond ring and died.

Of course the Dogras were content with having reestablished their dominance in Ladakh and Baltistan and did not thing of renewing the exploit of Zorawar Singh. This made it easy to conclude peace on equitable terms. It was done it the form of an exchange of documents executed at Leh on 17th and 20th September 1842, Dewan Hari Chand signing for Raja Gulab Singh, and *bka'-blon* Zur-k'an and *mda'-dpon* sPel-bzi for the Lhasa government. The was was over, and sPel-bzi returned to Lhasa, while Zur-k'an went to Jammu, where he was graciously received by Gulab Singh, and then sent back to Tibet. The agreement confirmed the existing border, allowed the continuation of the *lo-p'yag* and *c'a-pa* missions on a commercial basis without political implications, declared free trade in all commodities and provided for the supply of transportation service (*'u-lag*) for Tibetan traders in Ladakh and for Ladakhi traders in Western Tibet.

The independence of Ladakh was extinguished and the country was merged in the dominions of Gulab Singh, who in 1846 became Maharaja of Kashmir under British protection. The monarchy was abolished and the boy king Kun-dga'-rnam-rgyal was deposed; his undisturbed residence in Ladakh was guaranteed by the agreement and he was given as *jagir* the sTog estate with the royal palace there; his younger brother bsTan-srun-g.yul-rgyal was allotted the Ma-spro estate, which has remained in his family to this day.

The former king Kun-dga'-rnam-rgyal died in 1873, aged 38, and was succeeded in the sTog estate by his son bSod-nams-rnam-rgyal (n. 1866, d. 1942), who in his old age became a Lama at He-mis, ceding the estate to his son C'os-skyon-rnam-rgyal, born in 1895; he died at an unknown date, apparently before his fater. His elder son Kun-bzan-rnam-rgyal, born in 1926, died in 1974 without issue and was succeeded by his brother, the present Raja 'P'rin-las-rnam-rgyal. The family is now much impoverished.

The old nobility was completely deprived of power, not a single of the nobles being retained in government service; the only exception was *bka'-blon* Rig-'dzin, who changed his name into Govind Ram and was the right-hand man of the Dogra regime in its early years. The Leh *blon-po* and former regent dNos-grub-bstan-'dzin, the rebel minister *a-jo* mGon-po, the *lha-bdag* Ts'e-rin-stobs-rgyas and others were deported to Jammu. Dewan Hari Chand and Wazir Ratanu returned home. For the moment being, Ladakhi proper was left in the charge of the *thanadar* Magna, with the title of Wazir of Leh, seconded by *bka'-blon* Rig-'dzin, while Purig, Nubra etc. were placed under *thanadars* of their own. Ladakh ceased henceforward to have a separate identity, and therefore a history of its own.

10

Government and Administration

Source on the administrative machinery of the kingdom are scarce, being practically reduced to two. One is the chapter on law and government in Gergan, 604-617; although no authorities are quoted, it seems trustworthy. The other is Cunningham, who wrote when the kingdom was no more, although its remembrance was still fresh in the mind of everybody. The Chronicle is almost silent on the subject and not much can be gleaned from the inscriptions. The documents are more helpful, but for a full exploitation we must await the publication of those listed by Gergan.

The government of the kings of Ladakh, ruling a purely Tibetan country, was quite different from that of the Dalai-Lamas of Lhasa.

First of all, it was a lay monarchy, in which the clergy, however respected, never interfered directly with government; this of course did not prevent single revered teachers or monks belonging to the royal family from wielding a widespread influence in their personal capacity. Another difference is the survival of some of the institutions of the ancient Tibetan monarchy. Even in the protocol of the inscriptions some of the old royal formulae were employed down to the 19th century. For example, the phrase "May the helmet [of the king[be high and may his dominion spread far" (*...gyi dbu rmog mt'o zin c'ab srid rgyas 'gyur cig*), which occurs in many of the official Ladakhi inscriptions, goes back to the epigraphy of the 8th and 9th century. The mention of the first king of Tibet, gÑa'-k'ri-btsan-po, is as common in the Ladakhi inscriptions as it was in those of the old Tibetan monarchy.

Head of the state was the king, whose official title was "Great king ruling according to the Law" (*c'os-rgyal c'en-po*). He was normally alone on the throne; there were, however, some exceptions. Firstly, it was almost a rule that the king in his old age associated the heir-apparent to the throne, usually without the full royal title. Then there is the special case of the three sons of Lha-dban-rnam-rgyal in the 16th-17th centuries; such an undivided rule of brothers finds its exact counterpart in the Malla kingdom of Nepal about 1400. The position of the king was one of great honour and he was surrounded by a sacral aura. In one instance at least (Sen-ge-rnam-rgyal) he was regarded as an incarnation; but this was quite exceptional. As usual, and again in accordance with the precedents of the old Tibetan monarchy, his actual power was not great and could easily sink so low as to reduce him to the role of a *roi fainéant*. Of course here again there are exceptions; Sen-ge-rnam-rgyal not only reigned, but was the prime minister of himself. The king was the source of all the rights and privileges granted to his subjects; and we have at least one indication that such rights and privileges needed express confirmation by each new king upon this accession.

The king and the royal family were surrounded by a court (*mk'ar*), composed of special officials in direct attendance on the king. They were : the *gzims-dpon* (Master of the Chamber), who acted as the speaker for the king in audience; the *nan-gñer* (Inner Steward), who presented to the king the petitions of his subjects; the *mk'ar-dpon* (Prefect of the Palace), who was in charge of order and cleanliness inside the residence and who acted as substitute (*sku-ts'ab*) of the king and of the prime minister when they were absent; the *gñer-pa* (Steward), who was in charge of the stores of wheat, barely, fruits and other foodstuffs and kept the account of in—and outgoing items; the *sin-dpon* (Master of Timber), who procured and stored wood and coal from each district, and chiefly from Rum-bag, Rum-c'un and Nubra; the *'degs-dpon* or *p'yag-bdeg* (Master of the Scales), who weighed the incoming commodities; the *dkor-dpon* (Chief of the Attendants), in charge of the *lba-c'un* (?) and of sundry religious objects of the court; the *yig-dpon* (Chief Scribe), who penned the letters. All these palace officers depended directly from the king.

With this exception the body of the officials was divided into two main branches, headed respectively by the Prime Minister and by the Treasurer.

The central figure of the government was the Prime Minister (*bka'-blon* or *gun-blon;* in the inscriptions *c'os-blon c'en-po*); his office appears to be descended in direct line from the Great Minister of the old monarchy. His charge was single, and we find no instance of a collegiate body (*lhan-rgyas, bka'-sag*), such as it developed in the Lhasa theocracy; ministers or head of departments in our sense did not exist at all.

At the local level, government assumed a semi-feudal character, again in the tradition of the old monarchy. We should distinguish the territory of Ladakh proper from those of the feudatory chiefs in the outlying regions. At the end of the kingdom, there were eight feudatory chiefs, all of them theoretically entitled to be called *rgyal-po;* but in actual practice the royal title was hardly ever employed. They were the four Muslim chies of the Pa-skyum (in Purig), bSod (in Purig), Suru and Dras; usually they were styled *jo,* a title typical for those regions; then the king of Zans-dkar, the only one for whom the royal title was normally employed; the No-no of Spiti; the chief of Nubra; and the chief of rGya, who was the only one situated within Ladakh proper. The latter's usual title was *jo,* but, perhaps in remembrance of an earlier independent position, he was sometimes called "king of Upper [Ladakh]" (*stod rgyal-po*).

In the territory under direct royal control the great landholders held their estates under hereditary tenure. Two general courtesy titles were in use for the foremost among them : *ga-ga* (for elder persons) and *no-no* (for juniors), the latter title being also sometimes used for junior members of the royal house. Neither of the two was linked with a particular office. Government servants in general were called *drun-'k'or* or *drun-yig*.

The territory of Ladakh proper was divided into a certain number of small districts (*yul*), governed by officials usually called *blon-po* or *bka'-blon*. The title was hereditary, but the office was not automatically so. A list of these officials (and thus of the districts) for 1753 is represented by the signatures apposed to the Wam-le Award; at that time they were twenty-seven in Ladakh proper, to whom the two *drag-sos* of K'a-la-rtse and sKyur-bu-can should be added, a hereditary charge. The *blon-po* did not draw a regular salary, but were assigned an estate in usufruct (*bar-lig*), which they managed with the help of a small staff of their own. Among the district *bka'-blon*, three occupied traditionally a more exalted position, viz. those of sTog, of Ban-ka and of Sa-bu; in times of war these families usually supplied the commanders in the field. But after the Dogra conquest the estates of their retainers slipped from their authority and, having no fields owned and tilled by themselves, they were left wholly destitute. The *blon-po* in actual charge of districts could assemble and act as a sort of advisory council to the government; they also supplied the officers to the army. If not in charge of districts, they held no authority outside their usufructuary estates (*bar-lig*); however, they were entitled, by custom, to receive the offerings of the first crop harvested and of the first beer (*c'an*) brewed in their home places. Lastly, there was a class of lesser *blon-po*, called *blon-p'ran*; but they were mere petty local officials, the *blon-po* of A-lci being an instance in the case.

Fortresses were in charge of *mk'ar-dpon*, corresponding to the *rdzon-dpon* of Gu-ge and Central Tibet; but it seems that their authority did not stretch beyond the walls of the fort.

The highest official below the *blon-po* was the *nan-so*, of whom each larger district had one, smaller districts being grouped together for this purpose. His duty was to collect food, fodder and fuel and to convey them to the royal court, wherever it was situated at the moment; the accounts were rendered to the finance department. He ranked below the *blon-po,* but above the *blon-p'ran.*

At the lowest level there were the village headmen, usually called *gron-dpon,* sometimes *'go-pa* or *mi-dpon.* Each headman was assisted by a *do-ga-c'e,* a curious non-Tibetan title, perhaps derived from the old Mongol *darughaci.* In the city of Leh the governor (Slel *blon-po*) was assisted by eight *zal-skyin,* officials of the municipal administration. Other petty officials of undefined functions were the *dpon-po* and the *lha-bdag* (or *lha-rje*).

Justice was administered on the old patriarchal pattern, there being no distinction between administrative and judicial officers; nor there was any code. Still, there was an embryo of standing judiciary. These were the elders (*rgad-pa* or *rgam-mi*), selected from lists formed in each district; as a rule, sixty of them were in regular service and had to be in attendance at the court of the king. They were divided into two groups, one for Upper and one for Lower Ladakhi, each with a chairman (*rgan-rtso*). As to procedure, anyone with a complaint went to the headman of his village or to the *blon-po* of his districts and represented his case. Panels of five or seven local elders were then summoned to hear and decide the complaint. Serious cases went up to the capital. There the case was first presented to the *gsags-dpon* (judge), who then appointed a panel of five or seven of the elders attending court, but added to them two or more permanent magistrates (*k'rims-dpon*), whose duty was to expound the law of the land (*yul-k'rims*); the whole body constituted the court of justice (*gsags-k'an*). No appellation against its judgement was possible. Punishments (*c'ad-pa*) included stripes (*lus-c'ad*), fines (*nor-c'ad*), imprisonment (*btson-c'ad*), and in extreme cases banishment with branding, and even death. However, the death penalty was seldom awarded and still more rarely executed.

The finance department was under a treasurer (*bka'-mdzod* or *p'yag-mdzod*). He had equal rank with the prime minister. All the accounts presented by the *nan-so,* stewards etc. were controlled by him. Practically, he disposed of the economic resources of the whole country, and this explains the enormous power enjoyed by Ts'e-dban-don-grub, who cumulated in his person the two offices of Prime Minister and Treasurer; but this was quite an exception, and as rule the two offices were kept separate.

The treasurer had a staff of his own, but relied heavily on the collaboration of the *nan-so,* who in their capacity as revenue officers were assisted by the district accountants (*rtsig-dpon*).

The source of revenue (*t'ob-t'an*) were taxes and custom duties. The most important item of the former was a tax on property (*k'ral, t'an, dpya*), levied as a rule on houses and not on tilled land. Real property was held by royal grant, evidenced by documents (*bka'-sog*) issued by the king. This was the only legal evidence allowed; if the document was lost of destroyed, since there were no copies preserved at the capital, a fresh one had to be applied for, the application being investigated and certified by the elders. The unity of taxation was the house or firehead (*t'ab-k'a*). The tax on houses was collected partly in kind, i.e. in barely (*'bru-k'ral*) and partly in silver, minted or not (*dnul-k'ral*). The local collectors (*dpya-snud-pa-po*) transmitted their quotas at stated periods to the Treasurer at the capital, where they were deposited in the treasury (*gter-mdzod*). The poorer classes were exempted from the house-tax, but were subjected to labour service (*'u-lag*).

Other dues were a 10 p.c. tax on cattle (*bcu-k'ag*); a special tax on ironsmiths, belonging to the Mon Bheda class and considered an inferior class; and a tax (*ts'on-p'ud*) on the Kashmiri and Balti merchants established in Ladakh, as well as on the brokers who transacted all commercial affairs between the different merchants, both native and foreign. Before 1683 the king levied also a tax in gold (*gser-k'ral*), amounting to ten goat-loads of gold dust yearly. Spiti and Lahul paid a tribute in iron-bars. And of course there were annual presents, received from the *blon-po,* the *ki'ar-dpon* etc.

In a country in which the transit trade was of paramount importance, customs duties (*so-gam*), imposed both on imports and exports, represented a large source of revenue. They were paid by the traders, after they loads had been inspected and assessed, either in silver or with a portion of the goods themselves. They were collected at the frontier custom-houses (*so-gam-gyi-gnas*) by the custom officers (*so-gam-pa*), who sent the sums and goods realized to the chief custom officer (*so-gam p'yag-mdzod*). Only the merchants coming over the passes from Central Asia paid the custom duties in Leh.

The gross revenue of the king of Ladakh during the last year of independence is listed by Cunningham as follows :

House-tax	Rs. 30,000
Tax on brokers	Rs. 5,700
Presents or fees	Rs. 5,000
Customs	Rs. 18,000

Outside this regular budget remained the revenue from about 4000 houses alienated for the support of the numerous monasteries, and the amount derived from the crown villages (about 2000 houses), set apart for the maintenance of the king, of the queen and of the various members of the royal family. Out of the gross income of the regular budget, one-half of the customs and one-half of the tax on brokers are said to be the perquisites or salary of the Prime Minister; but this seems much exaggerated. The net income of the government was actually larger than specified above, because the king was the chief trader in his dominions; and since all his traffic passed duty-free through Ladakh, he always realized between forty and fifty thousand rupees a year. Besides, the king drew his food from the districts under his direct government, of which Nubra yielded the most, being less riddled with nobility and monasteries. He was supplied with corn, butter, wood and grass for four months in the year by Nubra; for two months of Rupshu; and for four months by Tankse. Certain villages also supplied the royal table with apricot, apples and grapes.

The charges defrayed by the state were few in number and small in amount, as all the principal public officers had the privilege of trading duty-free, while the inferior servants of government enjoyed various perquisites which were equivalent to salaries. The only paid officers of the state were the *blon-po* of Leh, the chief judge, the standing magistrates of Leh, the Treasurer, the master of the horse (*ga-ga rta-rdzi*), and, of course, the Prime Minister.

The armed forces were a sort of national militia. There was no standing army, but every house or family was obliged to furnish one ready-armed soldier to the government. The *blon-po* and *'go-pa* also furnished quotes from ten to four men each. At the last general mustering in 1834, the number of armed peasants collected to oppose Zorawar Singh amounted to 22,000. This was of course a maximum, sedom reached. Also, it stands to reason that the military value of this rabble of untrained rustics was very low. The soldiers (*dmag-mi*) owning horses were enrolled in the cavalry (*rta'i dpun*); the rest formed the infantry (*rkan-t'an gi dpun*). Their arms were swords, matchlocks and bows and arrows. Defensive arms were shields and helmets. The army (*dmag-dpun*) was placed under the command of a commander-in-chief (*dmag-'go*), who was usually a member of the royal family or the Prime Minister or one of the chief *bka'-blon;* he was appointed at the beginning of each campaign and it seems that his charge was temporary. A relic of bygone times were the names of rank of the officers, the same as in Central Tibet; commanders of one-thousand (*ston-dpon*), of one-hundred (*brgya-dpon*), of ten (*bcu-dpon*); they bore no relation with the actual numbers supplied or commanded. The soldiers were obliged to find their own food. Each man was therefore attended by another male member of his house of family, who carried the joint provisions during the daily marches, while the soldier carried his arms. Thus in case of a casualty the state had a substitute at hand, while the family preserved the arms and clothes and (if he had one) the horse of the defunct, all of which would otherwise have been lost.

Some words may also be said about the mail service. The *'go-pa* of each village was bound to furnish a courier to carry the post from his own to the next village on the road. Along the high roads the couriers were all horsemen (*rtm-zam-pa*) and the post was carried at the rate of from twenty to thirty-five miles a day, the latter being the express rate for urgent government business. All the officials made use of the village couriers for the conveyance of orders or intelligence; but merchants always sent special couriers of their own. As it can be seen this is a rather crude system, contrasting with the comparatively elaborate and efficient arrangements of the Tibetan post.

In the preceeding pages we have repeatedly found occasion to hint at the paramount importance of the transit trade to Kashmir, Central Asia and Western Tibet. For the trade route to Yarkand I have nothing to add to what I wrote nearly thirty years ago. Trade with Western Tibet was subjected to the regulations agreed to in 1683. The official trade mission from Ladakh (*lo-p'yag*) went to Lhasa every third year, headed by an ecclesiastical official, either a Ladakhi or a Tibetan resident in Ladakh; the practical management was left to a Ladakhi Muslim merchant of that class which had by long tradition been permitted to trade in Tibet. The Tibetans regarded it as a tribute-bearing mission, because it carried letters and presents from the king to the Dalai-Lama. The *lo-p'yag* always passed through sGar-t'og (Gartok), which was the chief mart of Western Tibet, visited during the summer months by traders from Eastern and Western Turkestan and even from the Russian dominions. From the other end of the line, the Lhasa government sent an annual million of Leh; its chief was a government trader (*gzun-ts'on*), who was always a Tibetan official, lay or monk, of some standing. He was popularly called *c'a-pa,* tea-man, as tea made up most of the cargo of his caravan; he held his office for a three years term, during which he visited Leh once. Besides, there were lesser half-private trade caravans. Some Muslim traders enjoyed special privileges in the trade in Chinese brick tea between sGar-t'og and Leh. Border Tibetan officials often came to Leh to trade. Several of the larger monasteries in Ladakh sent periodically combined religious and trading missions to Central Tibet, and at about ten-years intervals a caravan came to Leh from bKra-sis-lhun-po. All these missions were entitled to use the compulsory carrying service due by the villagers. The main import from Western Tibet was the fine shawl wool (*pashm*), which during the last reign accounted probably for one half of the transit trade; it was a monopoly of the Ladakhi state, which sold the wool to the shawl weavers in Kashmir. It was jealously guarded and only very small quantities of the wool reached the plains of India by any other route. Starting in 1799, the British tried to get direct access to this commodity, with little success. But after 1815 the wool trade slowly developed on a direct route from Western Tibet to Rampur, the capital of the British-protected state of Bashahr, encouraged by the new demand in the plains. The value of this trade increased by leaps and bounds during the years of the Dogra conquest of Ladakh (1834-1840), to drop sharply during their campaign in Western Tibet. When the Ladakhi kingdom was extinguished, its prized trade monopoly of wool was also slowly becoming a thing of the past. As to the Central Asian trade, it carried above all felt, silver, horses, donkeys and some Russian goods.

All this tends to show that Ladakh was a predominantly commercial state. Its agriculture was, and is, limited to the oases formed by the streams tumbling down from the mountains to wind their course of the Indus, and cleverly utilized by an elaborate system of irrigation canals. No town or village of great importance lies directly on the Indus, unless it stands at an easy or obbligate crossing, such as e.g. K'a-la-rtse. The agricultural output is barely sufficient to maintain a scanty population. Thus, beyond a mere subsistance, the economical life of Ladakh was dominated by the carrying traffic. A stranglehold applied on this trade would soon bring the kingdom to its knees. It was sheer luck for Ladakh that its military power was never so dangerous as to compel the neighbouring states, interested as they were in commerce, and above all in the wool trade, to take recourse to the extreme step of closing the routes, an economic weapon of decisive power. It was left to Ladakh itself to take that fateful step in the 17th century, in the pitiable hope to put in this way pressure on the Moghul empire, then at its zenith. As fas as we can seem, Sen-ge-rnam-rgyal condemned to death the little mountain empire he himself had built, by comitting economic suicide.

The earliest religious layer in Ladakh is evidenced only by the graffitoes representing an ibex, which are rather common in the country; in later times the outlines of Buddhist *mc'od-rten* were drawn over many as the sacred animal; it left its traces even in popular mythology, as according to a Ladakhi legend one of the incarnations of the Buddha was an ibex. Otherwise there are no traces of the earliest religion of Tibet and of its royal cult as revealed by the documents of the 7th-9th centuries. Nor do we find in Ladakh, as far as I know, traces of the later (so-called "organized") Bon, although Bon was originated, or rather systematized in Western Tibet.

Buddhism first penetrated into the country from Kashmir. This happened at an unknown date, but possibly as early as Kushana times, as shown by several Indian inscriptions of a religious nature, found chiefly at K'a-la-rtse. In Dras, the westernmost part of Purig, Kashmiri influence lasted longer than in Ladakh, as was to be expected in view of the nearness of the Kashmir border. Its best known evidence is represented by the giant sculputes near Dras, two of them representing Maitreya and Avalokitesvara, and another portraying the donor, as shown by the Sarada inscription on its back. These sculptures are said to date approximately from the 10th century. Farther east, the huge statue of Maitreya at Mulbhe, another monument of Kashmiri influence; may be earlier (8th century ?).

The Tibetan troops who crossed Ladakh en route to Baltistan and Gilgit about the middle of the 8th century cannot be expected to have exerted any religious influence, since Buddhism was only just penetrating their own home country. So we may assume that, with due regard to the Kashmiri influences in Dras, Purig and K'a-la-rtse, Ladakh proper was still virgin land, as far as Buddhist is concerned, till after 1000 A.D.

Lamayuru (recte : g.Yun-drun dgon-pa) claims to be the oldest monastery in Ladakh. Its site is said to have been selected by Naropa (956-1040), the famous teacher of Mar-pa, who drained away a lake to make it accessible. The oldest building there, called Sen-ge-sgan, is attributed by the local tradition either to Lotsawa Rin-c'en-bzan-po or to one of his disciples.

Indeed, the penetration of Buddhism into Ladakh is closely connected with the famous Lotsawa Rin-c'en-bzan-po (958-1055). He founded many temples in Gu-ge and Spiti; also in Ladakh popular tradition attributes to him several shrines, such as a ruined temple near Ba-sgo, the Rag-pa *mc'od-rten* also near Ba-sgo, two ruined *mc'od-rten* near Sa-spo-la, the Man-rgyu monastery, a little chapel at Mulbhe. In no case documentary evidence for these attributions is forthcoming. But there is one shrine, for which we have absolute historical proof that it was actually founded by the Lotsawa; this is Myarma of the old texts, Ñar-ma of the inscriptions, modern Ñer-ma, now a complete ruin, not far from K'rig-se.

Another very old complex of temples is A-lci. This too is attributed to Rin-c'en-bzan-po, and one of its chapels, the Lotsawa'i *lha-k'an,* houses his portrait painting. But the real founder was A-lci-pa bsKal-ldan-ses-rab, of the 'Bro family, as proved by there inscriptions in the assembly hall (*'dus-k'an*). A-lci-pa studied at the Ñar-ma monastery, and his shows that he lived later than Rin-c'en-bzan-po. Another building, the gSum-brtsegs temple, was built by the *yon-bdag slob-dpon* Ts'ul-k'rims-'od, of the 'Bro clan is highly interesting; it shows that this old influential family, which had sponsored and supported the migration of sKyid-lde Ñi-ma-mgon to mNa'-ris, held some estates in Ladakh and played a substantial role in the spread of Buddhism in the country. The 'Bro may also claim a share in the beginnings of figurative arts in Ladakh, as the famous A-lci frescoes go back to about that period (late 11th or early 12th century).

Another early foundation was dPe-t'ub, which was built by king 'Ol-lde of Gu-ge in a Mouse year, which may be 1042 or 1054.

This building activity is to be placed within the frame of the "second spread" (*p'yi-dar*) of Buddhism in Tibet, started by Rin-c'en-bzan-po and Atisa and continued by their school, the bKa'-gdams-pa; one of the disciples of Rin-c'en-bzan-po was a Ladakhi called Maryul-pa dKon-mc'og-brtsegs. On the whole, we are justified in speaking of a bKa'-gdams-pa period of Ladakhi religious history.

Another epoch dawned when in 1215 king dNos-grub-mgon patronized 'Jig-rten-mgon-po, the founder of the 'Bri-gun-pa sub-sect of the bKa'-brgyud-pa. From that time the kings of Ladakh came under the influence of the 'Bri-gun-pa. Their main centre in Ladakh is now-a-days Lamayuru, although we ignore absolutely when and how that monastery came into their hands.

It was perhaps the missionary zeal of the 'Bri-gun-pa that persuaded king dNos-grub-mgon to lay down for the first time the rule that Ladakhi novices should go to dBus and gTsan for higher studies and ordinations. This rule had a beneful effect in the long run. It meant absolute spiritual dependance from Central Tibet; it hindered the rise of an original philosophic and literary life in Ladakh; it implied the pre-eminence and spiritual overbearing of learned monks from dBus, which often clashed (as even today is the case) with the temporal administration of the monasteries, entrusted to Ladakhi stewards (*p'yag-mdzod*). When after 1959 tuition in Central Tibetan monasteries was no longer possible and the cultural source dried up, it tended to cause a lowering of educational level among the Ladakhi monks, and did not favour the establishment of local institutions for upper studies of the clergy.

The 15th century saw the penetration and rapid growth of the influence of the new dGe-lugs-pa school founded y Tson-k'a-pa. King Grags-'bum-lde; having received an envoy from the reformer, caused the monastery had been actually founded by 'Od-lde of Gu-ge in the 11th century, the work of Grags-'bum-lde must have consisted in a thorough restoration and the transference to the Yellow School.

The fortunes of the dGe-lugs-pa in Ladakh are closely connected with the activity of Lha-dban-blo-gros. Central Tibetan texts, supported by the local tradition, attribute to him the renovation of dPe-t'ub, which was carried out (as we have seen) under the reign of Grags-'bum-lde. This is unlikely because of chronological reasons and because an earlier and more authoritative source attributes it to Nam-mk'a'-ba, an elder contemporary of Lha-dban-blo-gros. We find the same discrepancy in the case of Li-kyir. This old monaster was built, according to the Chronicle, in the 11th century. For the Central Tibetan texts, it was founded (i.e. rebuilt for the dGe-lugs-pa) by Nam-mk'a'-ba, who was succeeded as abbot by Lha-dban-blo-gros; and this is supported by the great Li-kyir inscription of the 18th century (F.182). But according to a later source, supported by the local tradition, the founder was Lha-dban-blo-gros himself. In the case of Bar-skya or Bar-k'yog, a convent in Ladakh which cannot be identified with certainty, both texts agree in attributing it to Lha-dban-blo-gros.

Some other items of information concerning dGe-lugs-pa activities belong to the same period. The old chapel sTag-mo *lha-k'an* to the north of K'rig-se was founded by sTod Ses-rab-bzan-po, a native of Mar-yul and a disciple of Tson-k'a-pa; this is corroborated by the local tradition. The monastery proper of K'rig-se, at present the main Yellow convent and seat of the Bakula incarnate, was founded by sTod Ses-rab-bzan-po's nephew dPal Ses-rab-grags-pa. In the forties of the 15th century 'Dul-'dzin Grags-pa-dpal-ldan (1400-1475), the chief disciple of the first Dalai-Lama, visited the Kailasa and went as far as "Mar-yul which is on the border of Kashmir", practising penance in the hermitages of that region. There he met Ses-rab-bzan-po and heard many sacred texts from him. At the time of the death of another great master, Ses-rab-sen-ge (1445), he was still in mNa'-ris (not necessarily in Ladakh); his stay lasted for six or seven years. Generally speaking, spiritual life in Ladakh must have been rather lively, as Kun-dga'-bzan-po (1382-1457), the founder of the monastery and of the sect of Nor, met several *dge-bses* from Mar-yul during his stay in Mustang (1447-48).

By the second half of the 15th century the dGe-lugs-pa had gained the upper hand in Ladakh, supplanting the decaying 'Bri-gun-pa; this was to last for more than a century, with the help of close contacts and of active encouragement from the main centres of the sect in Central Tibet. Then there was a

'Bri-gun-pa revival, brought about as usual by an outstanding personality, C'os-rje lDan-ma; and the sGan-snon monastery, founded by him, remained a lively centre of their action to this day. It was in his time, and perhaps on his prompting, that king bKra-sis-rnam-rgyal laid down the rule that every family of more than one male child had to give up one, not the eldest however to become a Lama.

Then the wheel revolved and once more a forceful personality brought into play another school, the 'Brug-pa sub-sect of the bKa'-brgyud-pa. Heralded by rMug-rdzin at the beginning of the 17th century. 'Brug-pa ascendance was fully established by sTag-ts'an-ras-pa; and after him the close connection between the main 'brug-pa monastery of He-mis and the royal family of Ladakh was never severed. Moreover, the Yons-'dzin Rin-po-c'e of the bDe-c'en-c'os-'k'or monastery near Gon-dkar in Central Tibet came to be regarded as the permanent *dbu-bla* of the king, although actual intercourse was less frequent than might be expected. To this extent we may say that the 'Brug-pa became the dominant sect in Ladakh. But the existence of the lay monarchy as an overall authority independent of the church did not allow a complete ascendance by one sect, like in Bhutan. The attempt made by the dGe-lugs-pa in 1694 failed almost at once.

The last quarter of the 18th century saw a passing revival of 'Bri-gun-pa influence. It was due to the 6th rTogs-ldan Rin-po-c'e bsTan-'dzin-c'os-grags. Born in dBu-ru sTod, he was tonsured by the 28th 'Bri-gun *gdan-rabs* C'os-kyi-ñi-ma. After having filled for a time the see of Sag-ram dgon-pa in gTsan, he came to Ladakh and was appointed abbot of sGan-snon, bringing this old 'Bri-gun-pa centre to new life. He wielded great influence, being the *dbu-bla* of both Ts'e-dban-rnam-rgyal and his successor Ts'e-brtan-rnam-rgyal. Then he returned to Central Tibet, was appointed abbot (*mk'an-c'en*) of Yan-ri-sgar near 'Bri-gun and acted as regent of the 'Bri-gun see after the demise of the 29th *gdan-rabs* Padma'i-rgyal-mts'an. His successors settled finally at sGan-snon, and the present 10th rTogs-ldan *sprul-sku* is one of the most learned and influential churchmen in Ladakh.

Also the popularity and wealth of the dGe-lugs-pa Increased greatly, but this was long after the fall of the monarchy. The present paramount position of the Bakula incarnate in Ladakhi society and politics is quite a recent development; the first Bakula Rin-po-c'e (1860-1917) came from Zans-dkar only in the late 19th century.

Summing up, three Lamaist sects played a large role in Ladakhi history; they were, in chronological order, the 'Bri-gun-pa, the dGe-lugs-pa and the 'Brug-pa. Of the remaining sects, only two were present in Ladakh before the Dogra conquest. The rÑin-ma-pa had a small monastery at Brag-stag, c.10 km from lCe-'bre. The Sa-skya-pa held the Ma-spro monastery, founded by *drun-pa* rDo-rje-bzan-po, and a secondary one called bsKyid-mans (locality unknown), founded by *mk'an-c'en* C'os-dpal-bzan-po. Neither the rÑin-ma-pa nor the Sa-skya-pa ever exerted political influence.

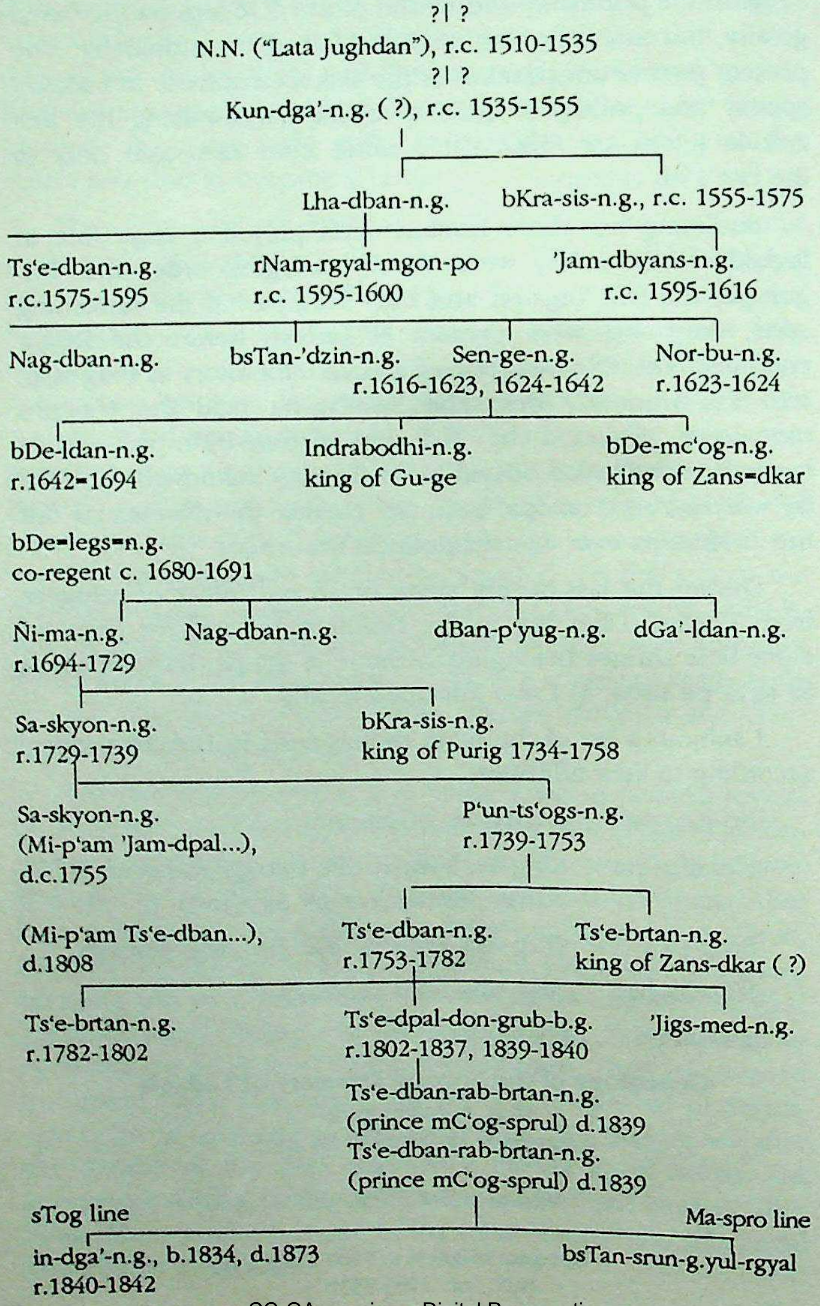
During the last twenty years or so the influx of refugees from Central Tibet led to the building by and for them of some little shrines belonging to the rÑin-ma-pa, Karma-pa and Sa-skya-pa sects, as I was informed locally.

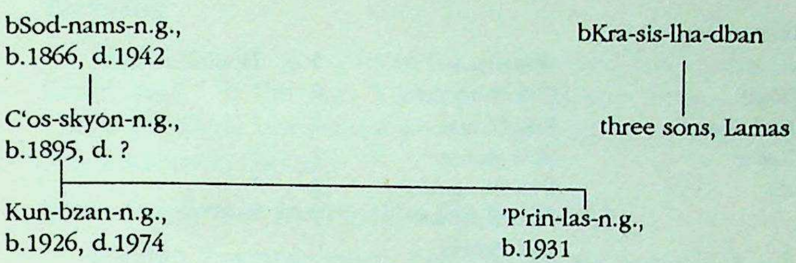
I subjoin a list of the main monasteries in Ladakh proper, according to their affiliation.

'Bri-gun-pa :	Lamayuru, sGan-snon.
dGe-lugs-pa :	K'rig-se, Li-kyir, dPe-t'ub, gSan-mk'ar, A-lci, Ba-sgo, Ri-rdzon near Sa-spo-la.
'Brug-pa :	sTag-sna, He-mis, lCe-'bre, Sel, Wam-le.
rÑin-ma-pa :	Brag-stag (or Brag-ltag).
Sa-skya-pa :	Ma(n)-spro.

Genealogy of the Second Dynasty of Ladakh

(n.g. = -rnam-rgyal)
Grags-pa-'bum (chief of Ba-sgo)
|
Bha-ra (chief of Ba-sgo)
|
Bha-gan, reigned c. 1460-1485
N.N., r.c. 1485-1510


?| ?
N.N. ("Lata Jughdan"), r.c. 1510-1535
?| ?
Kun-dga'-n.g. (?), r.c. 1535-1555
Lha-dban-n.g.
bKra-sis-n.g., r.c. 1555-1575
Ts'e-dban-n.g. r.c.1575-1595
rNam-rgyal-mgon-po r.c. 1595-1600
'Jam-dbyans-n.g. r.c. 1595-1616
Nag-dban-n.g.
bsTan-'dzin-n.g.
Sen-ge-n.g. r.1616-1623, 1624-1642
Nor-bu-n.g. r.1623-1624
bDe-ldan-n.g. r.1642-1694
Indrabodhi-n.g. king of Gu-ge
bDe-mc'og-n.g. king of Zans-dkar
bDe-legs-n.g. co-regent c. 1680-1691
Ñi-ma-n.g. r.1694-1729
Nag-dban-n.g.
dBan-p'yug-n.g.
dGa'-ldan-n.g.
Sa-skyon-n.g. r.1729-1739
bKra-sis-n.g. king of Purig 1734-1758
Sa-skyon-n.g. (Mi-p'am 'Jam-dpal...), d.c.1755
P'un-ts'ogs-n.g. r.1739-1753
(Mi-p'am Ts'e-dban...), d.1808
Ts'e-dban-n.g. r.1753-1782
Ts'e-brtan-n.g. king of Zans-dkar (?)
Ts'e-brtan-n.g. r.1782-1802
Ts'e-dpal-don-grub-b.g. r.1802-1837, 1839-1840
'Jigs-med-n.g.
Ts'e-dban-rab-brtan-n.g. (prince mC'og-sprul) d.1839
Ts'e-dban-rab-brtan-n.g. (prince mC'og-sprul) d.1839
sTog line
Ma-spro line
in-dga'-n.g., b.1834, d.1873 r.1840-1842
bsTan-srun-g.yul-rgyal


bSod-nams-n.g.,
b.1866, d.1942
C'os-skyon-n.g.,
b.1895, d. ?
Kun-bzan-n.g.,
b.1926, d.1974
'P'rin-las-n.g.,
b.1931
bKra-sis-lha-dban
three sons, Lamas

Ladakh

Some Practical Hints

Distance from Srinagar to Leh	434 Kilometers
Height	11,500 ft. above the sea level

Some places of interest en route

	Distance from Srinagar in Kilometers	Height above the sea level
Sonamarg	84	9,000 ft.
Zogila top	110	11,578 ft.
Matayan	127	
Drass	147	11,196 ft.
Kharbu	180	
Kargil	204	9,000 ft.
Mulbekh	244	There is a Buddha Mitriya's statue carved out of a rock which is worth a visit
Namika La	259	12,220 ft.
Bodh Kharbu	274	
Fatu La	295	13,479 ft. Highest point on Srinagar-Leh Road
Lamayuro	310	Village of interest and the oldest monastery.
Khalse	337	Strange caves carved from mountains.
Saspol	372	
Leh	434	11,500 ft.

Accommodation

Drass	Rest House	3	Double rooms
Kargil	Dak Bungalow	7	"
Bodh Kharbu	Rest House	2	"
Khalse	Rest House	1	"
Leh	Dak Bungalow	10	"
	Circuit House and Hotels	7	"

No bedding is available in the Dak Bungalows or in the Rest Houses so it is necessary that a tourist will have his own bedding or a sleeping bag. Warm bedding is essential

Attractions in Ladakh

Imambara—Kargil
Mulbekh
Lamayuru
Alchi
Fiang Gompa
The Old Palace—Leh
Leh Gompa
Kali Mata Temple—Leh
Radha Krishen Temple—Leh
Shey Palace
Thiksey Gompa
Hemis Gumpa—Leh
Hemis Dance—Leh in June
Spituk Gompa
Sanker Gompa

Transport

There is a daily bus service from Srinagar to Leh a distance of 434 kilometers. It is a two day journey with a halt at Kargil for the night from where the buses leave early morning the next day so as to reach Leh before the night fall. To move about in Leh, there are some jeep taxis available for the convenience of the tourists for which there are fixed rates.

Trekking

There can be good interesting short and long treks from Kargil and Leh the two Tehsil Headquarters of the District. There are some unclimbed peaks which an interested trekker may attempt to conquer.

Some Important Instruction for the Tourist

Foreign mountaineering expeditions are required to seek and obtain clearance from the Ministry of Home Affairs Government of India, New Delhi, at least four months in advance through Indian Mountaineering Foundation c/o Ministry of Defence, New Delhi.

Purchase and sale of antiques is strictly prohibited.
Photography of strategic installations not allowed.
Remove shoes before entering the places of worship.

Ladakh*

A General Description

Although Ladakh does not possess the gorgeous beauty and scenic charm of the vale of Kashmir, the lure of the grandeur of its endless mountain ranges, its wind-swept plateaux, its shimmering glaciers, its roaring torrents, the sapphire depths of its limpid lakes, and its quaint cultural patterns, is irresistible to the lover of Nature in her austere and sublime aspects, to the seeker of adventury, and to the geologist whose expert eye espies an immense treasure-tray of minerals lying concealed beneath the rugged exterior of the land. As the tourist, whatever his predominant interest, would naturally desire to know something about the people inhabiting this region, we will try to depict them in brief outline before we proceed to dwell upon the other features of this strange land which holds about 2,00,000 souls within its far-flung borders enfolding an area which after the exclusion of its Pakistan-held slice is nearly double the area of Jammu and Kashmir put together.

Racial Types and Religions

Only 2,00,000 souls ! And yet they are a mighty force representing a multiplicity of races, nationalities, faiths and cultures, a polyglot population, every section of which is a note having a distinctive identity but in combination with others forming a symphony of indescribable charm and melody. As the visitor negotiates the Zojila Pass, the gateway of Ladakh from the Kashmir side, the landscape—bare bald and rugged—presents to him a startling contrast to the richly forested hills and verdant dales of Kashmir and an altogether new type of humanity meets his eye. He is now within the bounds of Kargil Tehsil, home of the Balti people, a majority of whom belong to the Shia sect. We must, however, distinguish the Dard Brokpas of the Dras area speaking the Shinna dialect of the Dards of Gilgit, mainly professing the Sunni faith and mostly clinging to the customs they brought with them from their original home. The Nurbakhshi sect also finds its representatives among the people of this Tehsil. There is a sprinkling, too, of Kashmiris mostly of the Sunni sect met with chiefly in the town of Kargil.

The Shia majority is ultra-orthodox in the observance of ceremonial purity which looks upon all wet or liquid articles of food, e.g., oil, butter, touched by a non-muslim as defiled. Ceaseless mounrning in honour of the martyrs of Karbla is their chief religious preoccupation and the word of their black-turbaned and black-robed Aghas or religious leaders is the law for them. Notable among their social practices is the custom of contractual marraiges for specific periods which may cover a week or even a shorter interval. In some parts of this Tehsil virgins wear trousers of the white and married women of the black colour.

About 40 miles to the north-east of Kargil lie the villages of Durchiks and Garkun and contiguous to them, though administratively included in the Tehsil of Leh, the villages of Dah and Hanu all of which form the home of the picturesque Buddhist Dukpas, counterpart of the muslim Brokpas of the Dras area. Like the latter they have the Aryan features of the Dards, their women often presenting fine specimens of Aryan beauty. Their outfit is highly ornate and even the males appear heavily loaded with ear-rings, necklaces, bracelets and what not, strings of imitation pearls suspended from the ears forming a special feature. All Dokpas, male and female, decorate their caps with a variety of blood-red flower which marks them out from all other racial types inhabiting the District. Their homeland is rich in fruit, particularly the grape and they delight in dance and drink. The most peculiar thing about them is the taboos which rule their lives. They will not, for example, use cow's milk and its transformations, no fowl and hen's eggs as food. They will not even use cow-dung as fuel or manure. In fact the cow is so sacred an object to them that they consider the use of anything coming from it as an abomination.

About 16 miles from Kargil on the Kargil-Leh road is the village of Shargol. This is the first village on the road with a Buddhist element in the population which starts increasing steadily from this village until from Lamayuro up to Leh it forms the entire population. The Zañskar area which is accessible from Kargil via the Suru Valley is predominantly Buddhist, only one village out of the twenty-four which make up this area having a Muslim population. The Buddhists of this area are extremely simple and unsophisticated, in fact they form one of the most backward sections of the entire population of the district.

In Leh Tehsil, the town itself and some neighbouring villages e.g., Chhachhot contain a considerable Muslim population, both Shia and Sunni; the rest of the Tehsil is almost entirely Buddhist. Leh itself is a cosmopolitan town where Ladakhis, Tibetans, Yarkandis, Kashmiris, Punjabis and the different racial elements in the Indian garrison stationed here rub shoulders with one another in an atmosphere of perfect peace and harmony. The passionate devotion of the Buddhists to their religion is only equalled by their boundless tolerance. Their integrity and humaneness are proverbial. They are a jolly people who love dance, drink and conviviality and thus offer a complete contrast to the Baltis of Kargil. Polyandry among them has been abolished by law but in practice it is still alive. The Buddhists of Leh have no taboos in matters of food and intercommunal marriages. In the past it was not uncommon for a Buddhist girl to marry a Muslim without severance of relations with her parents and other Buddhist kith and kin. There have been cases in which children born of a Muslim husband and a Buddhist wife have been divided between the parents, some being brought up as Buddhists, others as Muslims. Lamaism with its enforced celibacy of males and females who join a monastic life is a special feature of the social system of the Buddhists.

The Ladakhi, lean, wiry and tall with little or no hair on his chin and lips, the back lower end of his stylish cap reaching to the nape of his neck and upturned at that end, his long woollen robe fastened at the waist with a girdle is a fine specimen of humanity. His incredible power of endurance and his good lung power are his great assets. The head gear of the Buddhist woman, the turquoise-studded perak resembling a Cobra with the out-spread hood on the crown of the head and the tail running down the backbone is an object of great attraction and adds to the undoubted charm of their figure. The remaining items in their dress broadly resemble those of the males with the difference that the outer robe in their case is artistically embroidered or, at any rate, has an ornamental border.

An important element of the population of Leh Tehsil is made up by the nomads of Changthang who lie in tents of Yak hair and whose only wealth consists of their flocks of sheep and goats with which they move from place to place in search of pasturage. The terrain they occupy is over 13,000 ft. above sea level. The goat which yields the Pashmina wool cannot thrive in lower altitudes. They are a primitive people utterly untouched by the effects of modern civilisation.

Excluding the are sliced off by Pakistan, Ladakh now covers an area of nearly 36,000 sq. miles, the Tehsil of Leh alone accounting for 29,848 sq. miles. It is bounded on the east by Tibet, on the south by Himachal Pradesh, on the north by Pakistan and on the west by Kashmir. It lies between 33° and 35° N parallels of latitude and 75.5° and 79° longitude and its altitude rangers between 8,000 to 13,000 ft. above sea level. The altitudes of the towns of Leh and Kargil are 11,500 ft. and

9,000 ft. above the sea level respectively. The climate is characterised by extremes of heat and cold. The annual rainfall is 3 inches in Leh and a little more in Kargil. There is hardly any moisture in the atmosphere which accounts for the piercing intensiveness of the sun's rays on a clear day. But if a wisp of cloud screens the sun even on a summer day, one at once begins to experience an abrupt lowering of the temperature. One has, therefore, to be prepared against chilly weather, particularly in the higher altitudes, the cold being dry and sharp as a razor blade. The afternoons are generally windy. Barring a few areas e.g., Dras reputed to be the second coldest place in Asia, the snowfall in the valleys is scanty, although on the outer mountains it is tremendously heavy. Even in mid-summer broad patches of snow linger over the high mountain passes and on a fine day the glare from the snow is so intense that unless the eyes are protected by goggles, the traveller is liable to be subject to the painful condition of snow-blindness.

The local porters and ponymen often pull out wads of wool from the flanks of the yaks—the only mounts practicable when the snow lies deep the passes—and use these as substitutes for goggles.

The outer mountain ranges being subject to heavy snow fall, the passes that lead to Ladakh are safely open to traffic for hardly five to seven months in the year. The best time for touring in the District is June to October. The tourist from India can enter Ladakh by one of the following routes :

(1) Kulu—Leh, (2) Suru—Kargil—Leh, (3) Srinagar—Leh via Zojila. The first of these routes is intersected by four mountain barriers the passes in which lie at altitudes ranging between 13,000 ft. and 17,500 ft. above the sea level. It is an extremely difficult route. The second route leads to Suru in Kargil Tehsil via the Sagar Nor Pass (15,000 ft.) Bhotakol (15,000 ft.) and Musskol (14,000 ft.). Though not as difficult as the first one this route is not much frequented and does not offer the facilities provided by the third, the Zojila route.

The Zojila pass is only 11,500 ft. above the sea level and is thus the lowest gap in the mountain ramparts surrounding

Ladakh. It is true that after Zojila, one has to negotiate two more passes—the Namikala (12,220 ft.) and the Phote La (13,479 ft.) to reach Leh, but these are easy to negotiate and remain open throughout the year. On this route which covers about 434 kilometers there are rest houses at every stage. Ponies, porters and supplies can also be available everywhere. A motorable road has already been constructed between Srinagar and Leh and military and civil buses do ply regularly between these stations in summer. They can easily do the journey in two days. A civil lorry service between Srinagar and Sonamarg also exists to help the traveller in summer. There are post and telegraph offices at Kargil, Dras, Khaletse—midway between Leh and Kargil— and Leh, the third named, viz Khalatse being a seasonal telegraph office which functions during the summer months and is shifted to Machoi in winter. At Dras, Kargil and Leh there are Govt. dispensaries, besides other Government offices.

Reference

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11

Buddhism in Gilgit

No account of Buddhism in Kashmir State will be complete without a reference to the prevalence of the faith in Gilgit and the surrounding areas, commonly known as Dardistan. We have seen the faith prevailing in Kia-chha or Ladakh. Also, it is well-known that in olden times Buddhism flourished in Udayana and Gandhara on India's northwest. It is, therefore, not surprising that the faith was professed in the territory between Udayana and Ladakh also. This territory comprises Gilgit, Chilas, Darel, Hunza, Nagar, Punial, Ishkuman, Yasin and Koh-Ghizar. Its inhabitants, who are Aryans, are known as Dards.

Skardu or Balti to the west of Ladakh tehsil, has an area of nearly 2,200 square miles. To its west on the left bank of the Indus lies Astor with an area of 1,600 square miles. Astor and Skardu together constitute Balti or Baltistan. Its inhabitants, Baltis, are a bled of Mongol and Aryan stocks. Gilgit lies to the north of Astor on the right bank of the Indus and along the lower course of the Gilgit river. It has an area of about 2,500 square miles. Its chief town, also known as Gilgit, is at about the same distance from Srinagar as Leh. The districts of Chilas and Darel lie to the southwest of Gilgit and Hunza and Nagar to its north. The inhabitants of Hunza and Nagar, known as Kanjutis, have been notorious for their marauding raids on the poor, miserable Baltis, whom they sometimes carried away for being sold as slaves in Central Asia. Punial, Ishkoman, Koh-Ghizar and Yasin lie to the west of Gilgit and Hunza-Nagar. Yasin with an area of 4,200 square miles is a large district on the upper course of the Gilgit river. Chitral lies further west beyond Yagistan.

While the Mehtar of Chitral and the Thoms or Mirs of Hunza and Nagar acknowledged the suzerainty of the Maharaja of Kashmir and paid tribute to him most of the other areas formed part of Kashmir State till October 1947.

Fa-Hien to whom we owe the earliest account of Buddhism in Kia-chha or Ladakh has also left us a description of the faith in one principality in Dardistan. This is Darel which he visited on his way to Udayana from Ladakh and Skardu. The celebrated Chinese pilgrim called it the small kingdom of *To-Leih*. Here he and his fellow travellers found a large number of monks, all studying the Hinayana. They also found an imposing image of the Buddha—eight cubits high—to which offerings were made by the rulers of the neighbouring countries. Stein who also mentions references to this much venerated image by Fa-Hien and Hiuen Tsang, says that it was a wooden representation of Maitreya Buddha.

Hiuen Tsang who visited India about two and a quarter centuries after Fa-Hien has left a description of the people of Baltistan and their religious faith. He calls the territory *Po-lo-lo* which, according to Cunningham corresponds to the modern district of Balti or Baltistan. The Chinese pilgrim-scholar writes, "The country is rich in supplies. The climate is continually cold. The people are rough and rude in character. There is little humanity or justice with them, and as for politeness such a thing has not been heard of. They are coarse and despicable in appearance and wear clothes made of wool. Their letters are nearly like those of India, their language somewhat different. There are about a hundred sangharamas in the country, with something like a thousand priests who show no great zeal for learning and are careless in their moral conduct."

Another conclusive evidence about the prevalence of Buddhism in Gilgit and the adjoining areas came to light about twentyfive years ago when several Buddhist manuscripts in Sanskrit were found in the ruins of a stupa in Gilgit. By a happy coincidence the pleasant duty of announcing this discovery to the outside world fell to the lot of that great lover of ancient. Kashmir, Sir Aurel Stein.

One day in July 1931, some shepherd boys watching their flocks near Naupur village about two miles west of Gilgit Cantonment, cleared a piece of timber sticking out on top of a small stone-covered mound. Removal of some stones on the top of the mound brought to notice a wooden box in a dome-shaped chamber. On operating it, the wooden box revealed four other small wooden boxes containing a number of ancient manuscripts. This priceless treasure was fortunately taken possession of by the Wazir-i-Wazarat or District Officer of Gilgit before it was too late. Later the manuscripts were sent to Srinagar under the orders of Maharaja Hari Singh who asked his Prime Minister to have them published.

What with the political disturbances in the State in the early thirties and the indifference of the them authorities the manuscripts remained unexplored and unpublished till the late Gopalaswami Ayyangar assumed the Prime Ministership of the State. That greatest of Kashmir's Prime Ministers entrusted the work of editing the manuscripts to Dr. Nalinaksha Dutt. Dr. Dutt who has given an elaborate description of some of the manuscripts and how he came to undertake the welcome task of editing them says that Dr. Shyamaprasad Mookerjee, then Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University and later also the President of the Maha Bodhi Society of India, wanted him "to obtain the mss. from the Kashmir Durbar if the Durbar decided not to publish them." But fortunately the Maharaja's Government, at the instance of its Chief Secretary, Pt. Ramachandra Kak decided to do so on their own and provided the necessary facilities to Dr. Dutt, who with the assistance of Vidyavaridhi Shiv Nath Sharma, a Kashmiri Pandit, Prof. D.M. Bhattacharya and others edited and translated some of the manuscripts.

The Gilgit manuscripts—about five dozen in number—vary from nine inches to about two feet in length and from two inches to about five inches in breadth. They are written mostly in Upright Gupta script. According to Dr. Nalinaksha Dutt the manuscripts may have been written in the fifth, the sixth or at the latest in the seventh century A.D. But it is not uplikely that some of them may be of an earlier date. About the motives which inspired this pious work he adds : "The only plausible explanation that we can offer is that well-to-do persons seeking merit by propagating the *dharmasastras* as enjoined in the Buddhist texts had the sacred texts copied for them and deposited in a sacred place like a stupa. This also accounts for the names of the donor, his relatives and friends appearing in the colophons of some of the mss."

One of the donors mentioned is Shrideva Shahi Surrendra Vikramaditya Nanda. He appears to have been the ruler of Gilgit, and may have been related to either the Gupta rulers of Kashmir or, as Dr. Dutt points out, to Vikramaditya who ruled the Valley towards the close of the sixth century A.D. The queens of Surrendra Vikramaditya are also mentioned. They are Shami Devi Trailokeyadevi and Vihali. The scribe of the king's manuscript was named Aryasthirabuddhi and his collaborator Narendra Datta. Besides the king, the other donors mentioned are Shulkhina, Shulivajra, Mamoti, Manglashura and Aryadevendrabhuta. The manuscripts so far edited and published include :

1. *Bhaisajyaguru-sutra* dealing with the great resolutions of the Buddha, Bhaisajyaguru-Vaidurya-Prabharaja and their effect. Baisajyaguru may be called the healing Buddha.
2. *Ekadashamukham* containing two dharanis of mantras which confer several benefits on their possessor and protect him from all kinds of evil and misfortunes.
3. *Hayagrivavidya*, a dharani written on birch bark on palm leaf and worn to word off evils and misfortunes.
4. *Sarvatathagatadhisthana-sativavalakana-Buddhakshetra-sandarshana-vyuham*, containing dharanis for acquiring various benefits and stalling misfortunes.

5. *Ajitasena-vyakarana-nirdesha-nama-mahayana-sutra* containing a story about the merits of regarding the Buddha as the Saviour of mankind and giving alms to Buddhist monks.
6. *The Samadhiroja-sutra. Samadhiraja* means the king of *samadhis* or meditations. As a state of mind, it is that highest one in which one realises the basic unity of all objects despite seeming differences, and also that the supreme truth "does not admit of any description, differentiation, assertion or denial."

The other manuscripts published include *Shrimahadevivyakarnam* containing some grammatical rules, etc., and *Chivaravastu* and *Kathinavastu* containing rules about the robes of monks and nuns and how they are to be made. Among the unpublished manuscripts are the *Saddharmapundarika-sutra* and *Karandavyuha*, devoted to the exaltation of the Buddha and Avalokiteshvara respectively, *Vajracchedika Samghata-sutra, Pratimoksha-sutra* and the *Vinaya-pitaka* of the Mula Sarvastivadins. (Mula Sarvastivada was a developed form of Sarvastivada).

Buddhist stupas have not been located in Gilgit only. In addition to the four stupas which have been excavated at Naupur in Gilgit—one of these stupas yielded the Gilgit manuscripts—ruins of stupas and images of the Buddha are known to exist in Hunza, Punial, Ishkuman, Yasin and other localities surrounding Gilgit. All these territories were once strongly Buddhist and apart from Fa-Hien, there is mention of other Chinese Buddhist monks visiting them in the fifth and the sixth centuries. Two of them Che-mong and Fa-yong are believed to have visited Dardistan early in the fifth century. Sung-yun visited Chitral, Yasin, Gilgit and Baltistan about a century later. he was accompanied by a Buddhist monk, Huisheng, and had been sent by a Chinese Empress to offer presents to the Buddhist sanctuaries and bring back Buddhist texts from India. Ou-kong who came to India in the beginning of the second half of the eighth century also visited Yasin and Gilgit.

The *Census Report* for 1931 contains the following interesting observations :

"There are two Buddhist stupas, once on the hillside about three miles east of Gilgit and the other on the road to Nagar between Chalt and Minapin. There is a small Buddha carved on the rocks at the mouth of the Kirgah Nullah about three miles west of Gilgit and small Buddhas and Buddhist relics have been found in Yasin."

These facts indicate that Buddhism lingered on in this part of Kashmir State up to comparatively recent times. This is corroborated by Knight also. Writing about Dras whose population is now Muslim he says : "We saw here large stones on which idols were carved, showing that Buddhist creed had once prevailed in this district, as it also did formerly in all the countries between the mountains we had crossed and the Hindoo Koosh range, Baltistan having adopted Mohammedanism in comparatively modern times."

That Buddhist influence still lingers on among the non-Buddhist population of these areas is clearly shown by what another European writer, Giotto Dainelli, has to say about the inhabitants of a locality near Chiktan in the Valley of Bot Karbu. Writing about the Buddhist chapel in the locality, the Italian traveller who visited Ladakh in 1930, records that the inhabitants "who have been converted to Islam, continue nevertheless to frequent it (the chapel), and on occasions both men and women circle round it, moving in the little rhythmic steps of the Tibetan dances and wearing long, slender wreaths of flowers". He adds, "They do not pray there to Allah, their new God; they no longer pray there, as they once did, to the divinities of the multiple Olympus of the Tibetan Buddhists : they go to pray there to 'the Spirit', as they themselves told me—that is, to something above and outside all corporeal and terrestrial things."

Many of the ruined stupas which are yet to be found in Gilgit and the adjoining areas are likely to yield more manuscripts of the type found at Naupur. In fact one of the stupas at Naupur yielded three or four more manuscripts when in 1938

A.D. the then Director of the State Research and Archaeological Department, Pandit Madhusudan Kaul visited Gilgit in search of more manuscripts. But now Gilgit and the surrounding areas are under Pakistan's occupation.

Appendix—I

Lease of Gilgit

Agreement between the British Government and Colonel His Highness Maharaja Hari Singh, Inder Mohinder Bahadur, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., K.C.V.O., A.D.C., Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, his heirs and successors executed on the one part by Lieutenant Colonel Lionel Edward Lang, C.I.E., M.C., in virtue of full powers vested in him by His Excellency the Right Honourable Freeman-Thomas, Earl of Willingdon. P.C., G.M.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.M.I.E., O.B.E., Viceroy and Governor-General of India, and on the other part by Colonel His Highness Maharaja Hari Singh aforesaid. It is hereby agreed as follows :

Article I—The Viceroy and Governor-General of India may at any time after the retification of this agreement assume the civil and military administration of so much of the Wazarat of Gilgit Province (herein after referred to as the 'said territory') of the State of Jammu and Kashmir as lies beyond the right bank of the river Indus, but notwithstanding anything in this agreement the said territory shall continue to be included within the dominions of His Highness the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir.

Article II—In recognition of the fact that the said territory continues to be included within the dominion of His Highness the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir salutes and customary honours shall be paid in the said territory by the administration on the occasion of the birthday of His Highness, Baisakhi, Dussehra, Basant-Panchmi and on such other occasions as may be agreed upon by His Excellency the Viceroy and

Governor-General of India. The flag of His Highness will be flown at the official headquarters of the Agency throughout the year.

Article III—In normal circumstances no British Indian troops shall be despatched through that portion of the Wazarat of Gilgit Province which lies beyond the left bank of the river Indus.

Article IV—All rights pertaining to mining are reserved to His Highness the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir. The grant of prospecting licences and mining leases will be made during the period of the agreement mentioned below.

Article V—This agreement shall remain in force for sixty years from the date of its ratification and the leases will terminate at the end of that period.

Signed and exchanged at Jammu this 26th day of the month of March, 1935.

Appendix—II

Treaty and the Foundation of the State

The text of the Treaty of Amritsar is as follows :

Treaty between the British Government on the one part and Maharajah Gulab Singh of Jammu on the other concluded on the part of the British Government by Frederick Currie, Esquire, and Brevet-Major Henry Montgomery Lawrence, acting under the orders of the Right Honourable Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B., one of Her Britannic Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, Governor-General of the possessions of the East India Company, to direct and control all their affairs in the East Indies and by Maharajah Gulab Singh in person—1846.

Article 1

The British Government transfers and makes over for ever in independent possession to Maharajah Gulab Singh and the heirs male of his body all the hilly or mountainous country with its dependencies situated to the eastward of the River Indus and the westward of the River Ravi including Chamba and excluding Lahul, being part of the territories ceded to the British Government by the Lahore State according to the provisions of Article IV. of the Treaty of Lahore, dated 9th March, 1846.

Article 2

The eastern boundary of the tract transferred by the foregoing article to Maharajah Gulab Singh shall be laid down by the Commissioners appointed by the British Government and Maharajah Gulab Singh respectively for that purpose and shall be defined in a separate engagement after survey.

Article 3

In consideration of the transfer made to him and his heirs by the provisions of the foregoing article Maharajah Gulab Singh will pay to the British Government the sum of seventy-five Lakhs of Rupees (Nanukshahee), fifty lakhs to be paid on ratification of this treaty and twenty-five lakhs on or before the 1st October of the current year, A.D. 1846.

Article 4

The limits of the territories of Maharajah Gulab Singh shall not be at any time changed without concurrence of the British Government.

Article 5

Maharajah Gulab Singh will refer to the arbitration of the British Government any disputes or questions that may arise between himself and the Government of Labore or any other neighbouring State, and will abide by the decision of the British Government.

Article 6

Maharajah Gulab Singh engages for himself and heirs to join, with the whole of his Military Forces, the British troops, when employed within the hills or in the territories adjoining his possessions.

Article 7

Maharajah Gulab Singh engages never to take or retain in his service any British subject nor the subject of any European or American State without the consent of the British Government.

Article 8

Maharajah Gulab Singh engages to respect in regard to the territory transferred to him, the provisions of Articles V., VI., and VII., of the separate Engagement between the British Government and the Lahore Durbar, dated 11th March, 1846.[1]

Article 9

The British Government will give its aid to Maharajah

Gulab Singh in protecting his territories from external enemies.

Article 10

Maharajah Gulab Singh acknowledges the supremacy of the British Government and will in token of such supremacy present annually to the British Government one horse, twelve shawl goats[1] of approved breed (six male and six female) and three pairs of Cashmere shawls.

This Treaty of ten articles has been this day settled by Frederick Currie, Esquire, and Brevet-Major Henry Montgomery Lawrence, acting under directions of the Right Honourable Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B., Governor-General, on the part of the British Government and by Maharajah Gulab Singh in person, and the said Treaty has been this day ratified by the seal of the Right Honourable Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B., Governor-General.

(Done at Amritsar the sixteenth day of March, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-six, corresponding with the seventeenth day of Rubee-ul-Awal 1262 Jijree).

(*Signed*) H. Hardinge (Seal).

(*Signed*) F. Currie.

(*Signed*) H.M. Lawrence.

By Order of the Right Honourable the Governor-General of India.

(*Signed*) F. Currie,
Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor-General.

This treaty stands on a different footing from other treaties with Indian States. The territories of which the Maharajah was recognised as ruler were handed over to him in independent possession. While the supremacy of the British Government was acknowledged there was no agreement on the part of the Company to guarantee the internal security of the State, Article

9 merely binding the British authorities to give aid to Maharajah Gulab Singh in protecting his territories from external aggression.

The sum to be paid by the Maharajah was fixed at one crore of rupees (10,000,000). Out of this sum he was exempted from the payment of Rs. 25,00,000 because the Company retained possession of the trans-Beas portion of Kulu and Mandi. This is how the Governor-General describes the transaction in his letter, dated 14th March, 1846, to the Secret Committee :

> *It is highly expedient that the trans-Beas portion of Kulu and Mandi with the more fertile district and strong position of Nurpur and the celebrated fort Kangra—the key of the Himalayas in native estimation—with its districts and its dependencies should be in our possession. These provinces lie together between the Beas and Chukkee Rivers and their occupation by us will be attended with little cost and great advantage.... In consideration of the retention by us of the tract above described a remission of 25 lakhs from the crore of rupees which Rajah Gulab Singh would otherwise have paid will be allowed.*

Of the 75 lakhs, 50 lakhs were to be paid on ratification and 25 lakhs before the 1st October, 1846. The Maharajah had considerable difficulty in finding this large sum in cash. Of the 75 lakhs the British Government was already in possession of 15 lakhs, being the treasure of Suchet Singh buried in Firozepur which on the death of that chief the British Government had refused to hand over to the Lahore Durbar on the ground of there being another lcaimant in the person of Gulab Singh. This sum of 15 lakhs was accepted in part payment of the indemnity charged to Gulab Singh.

Though Gulab Singh became by this treaty the Maharajah of Kashmir he was not yet in possession of it. It was only its legal title that was transferred to him. Wazir Lakhpat, who was sent to Kashmir to take possession of the country from the Sikh Governor, found it no easy task. Sheikh Imam Uddin, the Sikh Governor,[1] acting on the instructions of Rajah Lal Singh, the Minister of the Lahore Government, refused to surrender the province. After some trouble the Wazir seized Hariparbat, the fort that commands Srinagar. But as his position was critical the Maharajah sent him reinforcements under Wazir Ratanu. The Sikh army of occupation attacked the Maharajah's forces. Wazir Lakhpat was killed and the small force sent to take over the country was itself in imminent danger. Moreover, rebellion broke out at the instigation of the Lahore Durbar in the province of Rajouri and Rampur. Faiz Talib of Rajouri, who had cherished the feud to which his father had fallen a victim, was specially active in raising a rebellion. Gulab Singh was sorely beset on all sides. Wazir Ratanu was holding out in Kashmir, but he had already been reduced to desperate straits. The Maharajah then called upon the British Government to give him possession of Kashmir, as he had fulfilled his part of the contract. Dewan Jwala Sahai, his Chief Minister, was sent to the British Government to press this point of view. He was received by the Governor-General, who undertook to help him in getting possession of the territory and sent Colonel Larence to assist him. The Sikh Government was called on by the British to compel their Governor to yield the territory, and Lal Singh was forced to send an army against his own agent. Sardars Tej Singh, Sher Shah, Mangal Singh, and Generals Kahan Singh Man and Lal Singh Moraria were asked to proceed to Kashmir. This force marched through Bhimber. A small British force led by Lawrence also marched into Kashmir.

The Jammu force was under Maharajah Kumar Ranbir Singh. Colonel Edwardes also joined the Maharajah at Reasi. Sheikh Imam Uddin was informed of the view of the British Government. When he was thus forced by the united authority of the British, Lahore, and Jammu Governments he surrendered personally to Lawrence. He declared then that he had acted according to the written instructions of Lal Singh, and proved his *bona fides* by producing the Purwana of the Wazir. On this the British Government required the dismissal of Lal Singh from the control of affairs at Lahore.

With the surrender of Imam Uddin, Kashmir and its dependencies passed quitely into the hands of Gulab Singh. The Maharajah entered Srinagar on the 9th November, 1846.[1] Imam Uddin had left two days before and in order to avoid a meeting with him the Maharajah made a détour on his route. He entered Shergarhi at 8 a.m.

In 1847 the tribes of Hazara rose in rebellion. Dewan Hari Chand, who was sent to put down the rebellion, was unable to cope with it. Finally, Dewan Jwala Sahai himself had to go, and he succeeded in suppressing it. The Maharajah, however, decided to ask the British Government to exchange Hazara with Mandir and Garhi which had been given as jagir to Captain James Abbot for his services in marking the boundary lines. Negotiations were opened for this purpose and Jwala Sahai was sent to Lahore to negotiate the agreement. After much preliminary conversation an agreement was signed by which Hazara was assigned to Lahore and the Jammu boundary between Muzaffarabad and the town of Jhelum became the River Jhelam.

The Maharajah by this received Kathua and Suchetgarh with part of Minawar. The boundary was further altered in 1847, when the State handed over the district of Sujjanpur and part of Pathankot in lieu of an annual payment to the disinherited rajahs of the hilly districts who took up their abode in British territories and to whom the Maharajah agreed to pay a perpetual pension amounting in aggregate to Rs. 62,200 per annum. The most important of these pensioners were the Rajahs of Rajouri, Jasrota, Ramnagar, Besohli, and Khistwar.

By the second Treaty of Lahore the Sikh Government was for the time placed under the complete control of Sir Henry Lawrence, and through his intervention the agreement was signed on the 5th May, 1847. The settlement of the boundary between Tibet and Kashmir was entrusted to Vans Agnew and Alexander Cunningham. They left Simla on the 2nd August, 1846. Nothing was done during the year and Cunningham was again sent with Henry Strachey and Dr. Thomson. The boundary as it now exists was fixed by them.

New troubles arose in connection with other areas with the State. The district of Poonch had originally been given to Rajah Dhyan Singh by the Lahore Government as a fief. On the death of Rajah Dhyan Singh and his eldest son, Rajah Hira

Singh, the jagir was confiscated by the Lahore Government on the ground that the holders died in rebellion against the State. It was then conferred on Faiz Talib Khan of Rajouri. When the area between Ravi and the Indus was given in sovereignty to Gulab Singh, Poonch also passed to him. The Maharajah then conferred it on Jawahir Singh, the eldest remaining son of Dhyan Singh. Jawahir Singh now put forward a claim to Poonch as the Raj of his father, to Jasrota as the jagir of Hira Singh, to a part of the income of Kashmir, and to a share in Gulab Singh's private property on the ground that they were the joint family property of all the brothers. He and Moti Singh also claimed that they should be included by name in the Treaty of Amritsar. The matter was referred to the British Government and the Maharajah deputed Jwala Sahai as his agent. It came up first before Henry Lawrence on the 11th August, 1847. Through Mohur Singh, who represented Jawahir Singh, Lawrence advised the Mian to come to Lahore and have a personal interview with him. The Mian, however, hesitated. He was peremptorily asked to go to Lahore on the 3rd January, 1848. The Mian put off the appointment on the ground, that there was an earthquake which was inauspicious. Jawahir Singh was really playing for time. He was hoping that Larence, whose friendship for the new Maharajah was well known, would not continue at Lahore. This happened as he wished, and when Sir Frederick Currie was appointed Resident the Mian came to Lahore and placed the matter before him. The matter was submitted to arbitration and an agreement was effected. Jawahir Singh and Moti Singh were given two jagirs, Chalayar and Watala, with the title of Rajah. They were to give to the Maharajah one horse with gold trappings every year and they were bound to consult him in all matters of importance. Their claim to be included in the Treaty was dismissed as being preposterous. The following are extracts from Sir Frederick Currie's judgement, dated 12th May, 1848 :

> *That whereas the rights, titles, and interests in the hilly countries possessed by the Sikh Government passed into the hands of the British Government and whereas in pursuance of the provisions of the treaty executed by the*

> *latter with the Maharajah Sahib Bahadur, all these rights, titles and interests in the said hilly country have been completely and absoluiely transferred to the Maharajah Sahib Bahadur and whereas it is incumbent to maintain the old and established rights of all rightfull persons it is directed that the Mian Sahibs will have no power or authority to dispose of in their own holding any important matter without personal consultation with the advice of the Maharajah Sahib Bahadur.*
>
> *And the Maharajah Sahib Bahadur is assured that the entire administration of the whole country whether in the possession of the Maharajah Sahib Bahadur or his officers shall remain the Maharajah's sole concern.*

Jawahir Singh and Moti Singh quarrelled in 1852, when the matter was again referred to the Punjab Government, who awarded Poonch to Moti Singh as a jagir on the same conditions.

Jawahir Singh fell into the hands of an intriguing adventurer, Maulvi Mazar Ali, whom he appointed his Dewan. The Maulvi was sent to Swat to recruit an army, but the British authorities stopped him and he was expelled from the Punjab. Then Jawahir Singh personally went to Colonel Lawrence and asked that he should be made independent. His intrigues and disloyalty having come to light his estate was confiscated.

It will be remembered that the treaty of 1846 included Chamba but excluded Sapti as the territory of Gulab Singh. The Rajah of Chamba claimed Bhadarwah, which had been granted to him as jagir by Ranjit Singh, and as by the 5th Clause of the Treaty of Lahore the British Government had agreed to respect the *bona fide* rights of the jagirdars in the territories transferred to it, the Rajah of Chamba's claim to Bhadarwah was strong and unimpeachable. But the position was anomalous, inasmuch as Chamba had been transferred to Gulab Singh and Bhadarwah, which was within the geographical limits transferred, was the possession of the ruler of Chamba. The matter was settled by the arbitration of Henry Lawrence, who awarded Bhadarwah to the Maharajah, together with Lakhanpur and Chandgraon, while Chamba ceased to be a part of the territories of Jammu and Kashmir and became a State in subordinate alliance with the British Government.

The State thus assumed its present shape. An area consisting of more than 80,000 square miles, including part of Tibet as well as a part of the Pamirs, besides the genuinely Indian kingdoms of Jammu and Kashmir, came into Gulab Singh's possession. This area had never been effectively united under one ruler before and much of it, with, of course, the exception of the Valley of Kashmir, had never known settled government. The work of acquisition was finished. The work of consolidation and of government remained, and this, in view of the diversity of population, interests, climate, and lack of continuity in the past, was by no means an easy task. It is to the great credit of Gulab Singh that to this all-important task he now bent his energies and though he was already fifty-three when he became a sovereign Ruler, his efforts in this direction were crowned with success.

The Reign of Gulab Singh

The State that was thus created differed from the other internal States of India in that it was independent in its internal affairs. No control was exercised by the British Government in the administration, and no Resident was appointed. In fact, the political position in the Punjab made any such intervention impossible. The hostility of the Sikh population and the strained relations with Afghanistan made it necessary for the British Government to cultivate the friendship of Gulab Singh and to treat him as a specially valued ally. If at any time they had other ideas, the crisis to which affairs in the Punjab were fast moving showed them in which direction their true interests lay.

1848 saw the outbreak of the second Sikh War. Sardar Chattar Singh allied himself with Dost Mohammad Khan, and the whole of the Punjab rose up in arms against the establishment of British authority in Lahore. Chattar Singh sent an agent to the Maharajah at Srinagar, but Gulab Singh advised him against his schemes. Dost Mohammad also sent an agent, but the Maharajah refused to receive him. At the beginning of the war

Gulab Singh wrote to the Government of India expressing his readiness to help. The Simla authorities were in a suspicious mood and even thought that the Maharajah was not to be trusted. But when the situation became serious, Gulab Singh was requested to help the British by closing the passes and to despatch an army to fight the rebels. The boundaries of Kashmir were closed and a strong force under Syed Ghulam Ali Shah and Wazir Zorawar was sent to Lahore with instructions to act under Sir John Lawrence's orders. The Maharajah also kept three divisions at Munabir, Bhimber, and Mirpur to prevent the rebellion from spreading to his territories.

An attempt was made by Sir Lepel Griffin at a later time to connect Gulab Singh with the second Sikh War. He says : 'Although the proofs of Gulab Singh's complicity in the rebellion might fail to satisfy a court of law, yet there is sufficient evidence for history to decide against him.' What this evidence is that Sir Lepel Griffin considers to be sufficient for history will be seen from his views given below :

> *In the first place, there is the universal belief, shared by the late Dost Mohammad Khan, that Gulab Singh was the instigator of the rebellion and that against his will Chattar Singh would not have raised his hand. The evidence given by Hiranand, the agent sent by Chattar Singh to the Maharajah, recorded in October, 1849, though in many parts exaggerated and country bears the general stamp of truth.... No documentary evidence of any kind was discovered; but the most wily of men was not likely to commit himself by writing what might be verbally explained, or expressed by a sign or by the pressure of a finger.*

This is the evidence which the imagination of Sir Lepel considers to be sufficient for history to decide against Gulab Singh. It consists of a common belief, which it is said was shared by Dost Mohammad, and is merely rumous. In the circumstances of the rebellion it was clearly to the advantage of the rebels to spread the rumour that the powerful sovereign of Kashmir was going to join them. The friendship with Chattar

Singh, the second piece of evidence, does not mean anything. The Maharajah maintained friendly relations with almost all the chiefs at the Sikh Court, and to infer from it that none of them would have 'raised his hand' without the approval of Gulab Singh is obviously absurd. The third point on which Sir Lepel Griffin makes his allegation is the deposition of Hiranand, the agent of Chattar Singh, which definitely tries to implicate the Maharajah. But Sir Lepel himself agrees that his evidence is exaggerated and contradictory. Why it should be believed only when it goes against Gulab Singh does not seem clear.

Griffin, writing two generations after the event wishes to implicate Gulab Singh in the second Sikh War on no evidence, while we have the evidence of Sir George Clerk,[1] who, writing in March, 1849, immediately after the rebellion, stated that he had tried very severely the loyalty of Gulab Singh on many occasions and found him true.

In fact, Gulab Singh did everything in his power to help in the suppression of the rebellion, as we have pointed out above.

The strength of the Sikh army was broken at Gujrat, where Ram Singh met an heroic death. Says the author of *Gulabnama* 'Ram Singh Chuppuwalla, who was very brave, not likely to run away from the field, drank very boldly of the cup of death and proved the manly valour which he possessed.'

When Lord Dalhousie came to Lahore, Gulab Singh was invited to go down and meet him. He came down from Srinagar to Jammu but did not go to Lahore. The Maharajah had good reasons for avoiding the interview. It was well known that Lord Dalhousie not only disliked Gulab Singh, but carried his prejudice to the extent of quarrelling with Sir Henry Lawrence on that account. The Commander-in-Chief, Lord Napier, however, fixed a day for a visit and they met at Sialkot. Sir John Lawrence came to Jammu to escort the Maharajah to the meeting place. Another attempt was made by the Governor-General to meet the Maharajah. It was suggested that he should visit Jammu, and Dewan Jwala Sahai was sent to settle the ceremonials. As no agreement could be reached with regard to the formalities of a visit to Jammu, it was finally decided that the Governor-General should come up to Wazirabad. The Maharajah, accompanied by the heir-apparent, Ranbir Singh, Rajahs Jawahir Singh and Moti Singh and other leading sardars went to Wazirabad. Sir John Lawrence, who was then the President of the Board of Control in the Punjab, came with Sir Robert Montgomery and Lord Napier to receive the Maharajah, who was accorded military honours.

The interview between the Maharajah and Dalhousie had to be postponed for a few days owing to the indisposition of the latter. When it actually took place the Maharajah was escorted to the camp of the Governor-General. Dalhousie himself came to the door and took the Maharajah by the hand and seated, him on his right. Salutes were fired and presents were exchanged.

In 1850 Sir Henry and Lady Lawrence came to Kashmir by the Banihal route. They were received at Anantnag by the heir-apparent, Prince Ranbir Singh. During their stay at Srinagar they met Gulab Singh several times. Lawrence went from there to Skardu and Ladakh. The object of his mission, of course, was to see what were the possibilities of the Central Asian trade.

European visitors had already begun to come in large number to Kashmir, and as early as 1847 Gulab Singh was complaining of their irregularities. Dr. Honigberger, who visited him in that year, records the following conversation with the Maharajah on the subject :

> *At the period when I was in Cashmere the Maharajah had several English visitors whom he treated with the greatest hospitality.... In a conversation, however, which I had with the Maharajah, he complained that many of the servants of European visitors had abused the hospitality displayed towards them, for they had frequently taken with them very large quantities of saffron and other products of the country, much beyond what they could really use during their sojourn.*[1]

Among the prominent visitors who were the Maharajah's guests were Lord Grifford, brother-in-law of Lord Hardinge, Sir Henry Lawrence, and Colonel King.

In spite of the personal cordiality between the Maharajah and high British officials, diplomatic relations at this time were not wholly friendly. In 1848 Lord Hardinge wrote to the Maharajah stating that the nature of his internal administration aroused misgiving in the minds of the British Government, and claiming the right on the part of the Company to interfere in his affairs. The object of this communication was to get a Resident appointed at Srinagar, for which no provision had been made in the treaty of 1846. The Maharajah claimed that a promise had been given to him that no Resident would be appointed in his State. The matter was again raised in 1851 on the ground that every year there was an increasing number of British visitors to the valley whose interests should be looked after by a Resident. The Maharajah strongly resisted this claim, protesting that the appointment of a political officer, as in other Indian States, was against the degree of independence guaranteed to his State, and that as the European visitors frequented the valley in summer it would be sufficient if an officer were appointed for the season only. On this, the Government of India withdrew the claim a appoint a Resident and agreed to the deputation of an officer in Srinagar for this duty during the summer only. The following letter from Sir John Lawrence, dated 14th January, 1852, to Dewan Jwala Sahai, will show the purpose of the appointment :

> *On account of certain excesses committed by some European visitors in the past year, I intend to appoint some responsible European official at Srinagar to stay there till the return of the said visitors in order that he may put a stop to the occurrence of such excesses. As the Maharajah is well acquainted with the good intentions and sociability of Major Mac-Gregor, I wish he may be allowed to stay at Srinagar till the end of the hot season to supervise the conduct of European visitors to Kashmir. As this arrangement is also for the benefit of His Highness it is hoped it will be gladly accepted by His Highness.*

The officer so appointed enjoyed no powers of political supervision. The proposal to appoint a Resident was revived in 1873, when Maharajah Ranbir Singh was on the throne. In a well-reasoned communication the Maharajah pointed out that there was no provision in the treaty which gave authority to the British Government to appoint a Resident, and quoted as a precedent the proposal of 1851. The British Government then withdrew the claim.

The administration of Kashmir called forth all the statesmanship of Gulab Singh. In the later days of Sikh administration the affairs of the province had been sadly neglected. The shawl industry, which is the mainstay of the population of Kashmir, was weighed down by heavy and capricious taxation; reckless Governors, especially Sheikh Imam Uddin, had given away much of the land in the valley as rent-free concessions; an oppressive system of begar, or forced labour, made the life of the peasantry miserable; sati and infanticide were common; the hilly areas were infested with robbers.

Almost immediately on taking up the reins of administration Gulab Singh determined to make his power felt through the length and breadth of his vast kingdom. He put down rebellion with a strong hand. Order was restored in every part of the country and every effort was made to render trade and commerce safe for all. The result was immediately visible. Nicholson notes as follows in his official Diary on the 19th November, 1847 :[1]

> *Had some conversation with a party of Kabul merchants taking tobacco and snuff to Kashmir whence they intend returning with pattoo and tosh, which last fetches a very high price in Kabul. They complained of the oppressive duties in their own and Maharajah Gulab Singh's territories but remarked that in the latter their goods were protected whereas they frequently ran great risks from the plundering tribes between Kabul and Peshawar.*

The great difficulty that the Maharajah experienced was with regard to jagir grants. There were no less than 3,115 jagirs granted in Dharmuth besides numerous alienations of other kinds. A large number of them were unregistered. The Sikh Governors, Sheikh Goolam Mohi Uddin and Shiekh Imam Uddin, were extremely lavish in their grants, especially the latter, who for the sake of popularity signed away large tracts of land at the end of the Sikh régime. As soon as the Maharajah took charge of his country he instituted an inquiry of *quo warranto*. The jagirdars and other grantees were greatly agitated and loudly complained that the Maharajah was resuming their ancient possessions.

Tyler, who conducted an independent enquiry, states[1] that the Maharajah was inclined to be just and reasonable. His point was that people who began as revenue farmers should not claim the land they held in farms to be jagirs; that grants when made should be strictly adhered to; that grantees who were given one acre should not be allowed to possess two on the same sanad, and that in cases of treason, rebellion, and gross misbehaviour the jagirs should be liable to resumption.

The question of begar, or forced labour, which was at that time widely prevalent and which caused the inhabitants a great deal of avoidable inconvenience, was also taken up by the Maharajah. His idea was to determine a certain number of men in each village who would be considered liable to do labour when called upon by Government. For this they were to be paid one kharwar of rice per month and their food when employed. Men not called upon to do begars in the course of the year were only to be paid six kharwars for the year. An officer was appointed to take charge of this work.

Another important reform undertaken by the Maharajah was the rationing of rice in the valley. Kashmir, owing to its extreme inaccessibility and the insurmountable difficulties of heavy transport, was always liable to sudden famine owing either to failure of the rice crops or the cornering of the grain market. In order to meet this situation the Maharajah established a rigid monopoly of rice and had it sold at a fixed price to the people. Though this system gave rice to vociferous complaints, especially from the grain dealers, its wisdom was obvious. It is worthy of note that immediately after the recent Great War the State had to revert to this old practice of Gulab Singh and re-established the system of grain control.

Another serious question to which the Maharajah had to devote his earnest attention was the reorganisation of the shawl department.

The shawl department was carried on under a controller, who had under him the Nukdee karkhandars. A Nukdee karkhandar, or master of a factory, is in general a man of property. He has under him the shagirds, or workmen, whom he pays individually, and their materials are provided by him. He is responsible to the State.

Before 1833 the duty on shawls was levied according to the number made and stamped in the year t the rate of 3 annas in the rupee.[1] This was found unsuitable, and in 1835 General Mian Singh established the Baj, or fixed amount of Tax, to be paid by each shop. The Baj was fixed at Rs. 96 per annum and extended to 1,000 shops. This system was continued by Sheikh Ghulam Mohiudeen, though the tax itself was increased to Rs. 120 per shop. When the Maharajah took over the administration he improved the system and renumbered the workmen.

For new shops Gulab Singh charged only half the tax for the first few years. In 1847 the karkhandars requested the Maharajah that there should be a yearly numbering of workmen, that the Nuzzerana should be reduced, that the wages of the workmen should be definitely fixed and that a settled Ayeen should be established for them. The other most important reforms that the Maharajah introduced as soon as he arrived in Kashmir were, firstly, the abolition of the Moulut, by which the accounts were continued to the 14th month, and, secondly, the cancellation of unnecessary taxes like the Chuttinia.

By the system which was in force the workmen were not free to change their masters. They were also paid very low wages; in fact, the wages which were fixed at Mian Singh's time were still in force when the Maharajah took control.

When the Maharajah came to Kashmir complaints were heard that the karkhandars were not paying the workmen properly. He therefore raised their pay to 5¼ annas in the rupee, binding, at the same time, the workmen to do a fixed minimum of work.

On 6th June, 1847, the workmen struck work and about 4,000 of them set out for Lahore. The Maharajah told them that their complaints would be enquired into if they returned to work. This they did, and the Maharajah enquired into their case in open Durbar, and in July, 1847, promulgated a new system of control for the shawl department. By this the Kaid, or the law which bound the shagirds to work for the same master, was abolished and the workmen became free. The minimum salary for the workmen was fixed at 4 annas in the rupee, and the Baj system was abolished, the tax being imposed on the finished article. Very liberal arrangements were made for the Baj due to Government during the year.

The reorganisation of the shawl department was a great achievement, as the system had the following advantages :

(1) The baft system ensured that the tax should be regulated by the price of the shawl in market.

(2) The karkhandar had to pay only according to the work done in the shop.

(3) The shagird was no longer a serf.

These great administrative reforms restored the prosperity of the country, and Gulab Singh was in a position to devote his attention to the reorganisation of his army. The efficiency, contentment, and training of his forces were always matters of deep concern to him. As soon as he was established firmly on the throne he devoted his attention to these matters. Foundries are arsenals were established in the State; the forts were repaired and garrisoned; the hill levies, which formed his main strength, were organised into regiments, and a code of military instructions and orders was drawn up. It is of special interest to note that instead of copying English words of command the Maharajah had the same coined in Sanskrit. The names of his regiments were also taken from Hindu tradition. Thus there were the Gobardhan Regiment, the Raghunath Regiment, and the Lachhman Regiment. The military efficiency of his forces was recognised by all observers and stood the test of more than one difficult campaign on the Gilgit frontier. Indeed, events on this frontier took a critical turn soon after his accession. After the second Sikh War his attention was mainly devoted to troubles in that area. To a discussion of the course of events in that region we must now turn.

The Gilgit frontier occupies to-day a position of importance in the defence of the Indian sub-continent. But in the middle of the last century, when Russia was still far away from the Indian frontier, no importance was attached to this hilly country on the roof of the world. The area on the northern and western sides of the Indus has long been under the occupation of independent and unruly Mohammadan tribes. These tribal communities, who are often at feud with one another, acknowledge no master. The most important among them are the tribes in the Khushwaqt country, whose chief is now the Mehtar of Chitral. Other important chiefs are the Mirs of Hunza and Nagar, and the Rajah of Punial.

In 1841 this frontier witnessed one of those sudden convulsions which are not rare in tribal communities of a warlike character. Gaur Rahman, the eldest son of Mulk Imam, the ruler of Yasin, and brother-in-law of Imam-ul-Mulk, the Mehtar of Chitral, attacked and conquered Gilgit and killed its ruler. Karim Khan, the brother of the dead Rajah, thereupon called upon the Sikh Governor of Kashmir for help. The Sikhs, not loth to extend their territory into Central Asia, deputed Syed Nathu Shah of Gujranwalla, a capable commander, with a strong force to the help of Karim Khan. In 1842 Astore was occupied by Nathu Shah and Gaur Rahman was defeated. Though recalled for a short time, during which Gaur Rahman inflicted a defeat on the Sikhs, Nathu Shah was sent back again, and successfully pacified the border, taking in marriage the daughters of Gaur Rahman, and of the Mirs of Hunza and Nagar. Karim Khan, who had asked for Sikh aid to get himself restored, received nothing. Gilgit was permanently occupied by the Sikhs.

When Gulab Singh acquired Kashmir, though the Treaty of Amritsar gave him only the hilly country between Ravi and the Indus, it was understood that he had inherited all the claims that the Sikh Government had over these areas. Nathu Shah also transferred his services to Gulab Singh and was entrusted with the Government of the frontier.

In 1847 Nathu Shah, with the permission of Gulab Singh, allowed Lieutenants Agnew and Young of the Bengal Engineers to visit Gilgit. Among Agnew's other exploits may be mentioned the fact that, being refused permission by the chief of the place to enter Nagar territory, he wrote to the Mir that the British Government, knowing that Gulab Singh's conquest of Baltistan and Ladak had caused him to be looked upon with apprehension by the people of those countries, had sent him to reassure them.[1] The Mir of Hunza accused Nathu Shah of having allowed Europeans to come to the country, and on this ground attacked him. In the fight that ensued Nathu Shah was killed. Gaur Rahman, the stormy petrel of the Gilgit frontier, also rebelled at the same time, and the whole frontier was up in arms. The Maharajah, however, sent a strong force and peace was restored.

In 1851 the frontier rose again in rebellion. The Chilasis began plundering the possessions of the Maharajah in Hazara. As the Maharajah was then in Jammu and winter was approaching he confined himself to making preparations for a punitive expedition. A powerful force under Dewan Hari Chand, Colonel Buji Singh, Colonel Jowahir, and Dewan thakurdas was despatched in the spring of 1852. As soon as the winter was over Chilas was surrounded and besieged. The fort of Chilas is placed in a naturally impregnable position and the Maharajah's forces found great difficulty in besieging it. The country is very barren and the army had to depend on provisions taken from Kashmir. These, however, were soon exhausted. Over 1,500 men died in the course of a few weeks. Colonel Buji Singh was seriously wounded. Confusion prevailed in the ranks, and, according to the author of *Gulabnama*, the soldiers were forced to eat 'the leaves of trees and barks of plants.'

The endurance of the Dogra soldier shone out under these trying circumstances. The Maharajah was at that time in very bad health and suffering from dropsy, and anxiety concerning the fate of his army on the frontier was having visible effects on him. But, even in that state of health, when the news of the dangerous position of the army before Chilas was conveyed to him, he ordered that preparations should be made for him to start immediately.

While these preparations were in progress the Court astrologer appeared before him and said : 'Your Highness, the fort has already been taken; the soldiers have plenty of food and drink.'

The Maharajah, who was furious at what he considered to be an untimely jest, said : 'You have eaten well, but my soldiers are hungry and dying. How shall I trust in your world?'

The astrologer replied : 'If I am a Brahmin and the legitimate son of my father you will hear the news soon.'

The astrologer did not wait. He went home. The prophecy turned out to be true and the Maharajah was pleased and granted him jagirs which his descendants still enjoy.

The story of how the Dogra army, which was put to such straits, conquered the Chilas fort is interesting. The fort is on a high hill, and its water supply depends on one well. The Dogra commander ordered a big hole to be made and drained all the water from the well. Thus deprived of their only source of water the Chilasis surrendered. Their leaders were brought to Srinagar, where they accepted the Maharajah's authority and left their sons as hostages.

Hostilities were not, however, confined to Chilas. In Gilgit also trouble soon broke out. The Kashmir forces on the frontier were posted at three points : at Gilgit, at Bunji, and at Astore. The main force at Gilgit was under Bhup Singh. Gaur Rahman surrounded the two forts at Bunji and Astore. The garrison, which made a sortie, was cut up, and Bhup Singh's reserve, which was sent in relief, was totally destroyed. Of Sant Singh's main force at Astore only a Gurkha woman escaped. This brave lady threw herself into the river which flows below the Gilgit fort and, swimming across the Indus, arrived in Kashmir to tell the mournful tale. She was rewarded with a pension by Maharajah Gulab Singh

In 1851 troubles arose on the Tibetan frontier also. The trade missions from Tibet were by old custom, which the Maharajah had undertaken to maintain, entitled to free transport. The Zamindars of Ladak, no longer afraid of the Tibetans, refused to render the mission free service. The Grand Lama protested against this breach of the agreement and deputed two Garpons, or Provincial Governors, to settle the question. The following is a translation of the agreement which was entered into by the representatives of the Maharajah and the Dalai Lama in this connection :

> *This is dated the third day of the month of the Water Bull Year [apparently 1852].*
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> *The Ladakis refusing to supply the Tibetan Government trader Ke-sang Gyurme with the usual transport animals on account of the decreased tea trade, the Nyer-pass of the Garpons were deputed to enquire about this matter and to investigate the boundary dispute between Ladak and Tibet. A meeting was accordingly arranged between Ladakh Thanadar Sahib Bastiram and Kalon Rinzin accompanied by his servant Yeshe Wangyal and an agreement was made as follows :*
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> *In future the Ladakis will supply the Tibetan Government traders with the usual transport requirements without any demur. The joint Te-Jis*[1] *will request their Government to appoint only intelligent and capable men to take the annual tribute to Tibet. The Ladakis shall provide the Tibetan Government traders with accommodation and servants as usual and render them any further assistance according to the old-established custom. The Garpons will issue orders to the effect that tea and woollen goods arriving at Nagari shall only be sent to Ladak and not*

to any other place. The boundary between Ladak and Tibet will remain the same as before. No restriction shall be laid by the people of Rudok on he export of salt and woollen goods and the import of barely flour and barely Neither party shall contravene the existing rules and the rates of Customs duties and market supplies shall be fixed by both parties concerned. The above rules shall apply also to the Rongpas[1]*, who export salt. The travellers from North and West who come through Rong are given passports by the Thanadar. They are liable to Customs duties as prescribed in their passports. Should any of them be unable to produce his passport, he shall be made to pay fifty times the amount ordinarily recoverable from him. No case will be heard against such recoveries made by the Customs Officer. In deciding all important matters the ruler shall take into consideration the manners and customs of both sides and observe the old-established rules regarding supply of transport, etc. There shall be no restriction in grazing animals in the pasture reserved for the animals of the Government traders, but the people shall not be allowed to abuse this privilege by bringing animals from outside to graze on it. Both parties shall adhere strictly to the agreement thus arrived at between Tibet and Singpas (Kashmiris), and the two frontier officers shall act in perfect accord and co-operation.*

Drawn in duplicate and sealed by Thanadar Sahib Bastiram and Kalon Rinzin Two Nyer-pass of the Garpons. Witness Yeshe Wangyal, Private servant of Kalon Rinzin.

We have already described the administrative reforms of Gulab Singh. His methods were no doubt medieval, but he took great pains in governing the country justly. As Sir Henry Lawrence has said, his government was 'mild, conciliatory, and even merciful.' He himself personally looked into all affairs, great and small.

An English writer who knew the conditions of the State well has thus described Gulab Singh's method of administration.

> *He was always accessible and was patient and ready to listen to complaints. He was much given to looking into details so that the smallest thing might be brought before him and have his consideration. With the customary offering of a rupee as Nazar anyone could get his ear; even in a crowd one could catch his eye by holding up a rupee and crying out, 'Maharaj, Arz Hai,' that is, 'Maharaja, a petition.' He would pounce down like a hawk on the money, and having appropriated it would patiently hear out the petitioner. Once a man, after this fashion making a complaint, when the Maharaja was taking the rupee, closed his hand and said : 'No, first hear what I have to say.' Even this did not go beyond Gulab Singh's patience; he waited till the fellow had told his tale and opened his hand, then taking the money, he gave orders about the case.*[1]

The Maharajah suffered from dropsy for a long time and had proposed to Dr. Honigberger that he should enter his employment and stay in Srinagar as his physician. The doctor, however, was unable to stay. The disease became worse with time, and in 1856 Gulab Singh's health began to fail. As a result he decided to entrust the administration to his only surviving son, Ranbir Singh, and to retire completely from the affairs of this world. In February 1856, he formally installed Ranbir Singh on the Gadi and himself accepted the position of Governor of Kashmir, and left for Srinagar to lead a quieter life. But even in the seclusion of Srinagar he was rudely awakened by the news of the great Indian Mutiny. As soon as this news reached him, though he was on his death-bed, he ordered Dewan Jwala Sahai to proceed immediately to Rawalpindi and offer all the resources of the State to the British Government in his name. He was specially ordered to offer free hospitality to all European women who might like to leave the plains. The offer of military and financial help was accepted, and Maharajah Ranbir Singh, together with Dewan Hari Chand, was ordered to go with a large force to help in the siege of Delhi. This was the last public act of Maharajah Gulab Singh. Soon afterwards his illness became worse and he died on the 25th Sawan, 1914 (Samvat), or August, 1858, at the age of sixty-six.

References

1. Referring to jagirdars, arrears of revenue and the property in the forts that are to be transferred.

2. On the 13th March, 1884, it was arranged by mutual consent that in future the Maharajah should present, instead of 12 goats, 10 lbs. of pashm in its natural state as brought to Kashmir from Leh, 4 lbs. of picked and assorted black wool, 4 lbs. grey wool, 4 lbs. white wool, and 1 lb. of each of the three best qualities of white yarn.

3. Sheikh Imam Uddin is described as follows by a contemporary in an article in the *Calcutta Review* of July, 1847 : 'The Sheikh is perhaps the best-mannered and the best-dressed man in the Punjab. He is rather under than above the middle height, but his figure is exquisite, "as far as it goes," and is usually set off with the most unrivalled fit which the unrivalled tailors of Kashmir will achieve for the Governor of the province. His smile and bow are those of a perfect courtier whose taste is too good to be obsequious; his great natural intelligence and unusually good education have endowed him with considerable conversational powers.'

4. Report of Lawrence to Sir Frederick Currie, dated 12th November, 1846.

5. *Punjab Chiefs*, Second Edition, p. 511.

6. *Life of Sir Henry Lawrence*, Third Edition, p. 388.

7. Honigberger, *Thirty-five Years in the East*, pp. 178-179. (London, 1852.)

8. *Lahore Political Diaries*, vol. vi., p. 321.

9. *Punjab Political Diaries*, vol. vi., p. 60.

10. Tyler's Report, *Punjab Political Diaries*, vol. vi., pp. 44-45.

11. *Lahore Political Diàries*, vol. v., p. 297.

12. *i.e.*, the Garpons of Sartok. 'Teji' is a Tibetan title which the then Garpons might have held.

13. *i.e.*, people inhabiting the valley countries.

14. Drew, *Jammoo and Kashmir Territories*, p. 15.

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Dr. S.R. Bakshi, Ph. D,. D.Litt in Modern Indian History has academic links with several institutions, viz. Punjab, Saugar, Himachal Pradesh, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, Indian Institute of Public Administration, and last but not the least, Indian Council of Historical Research. He was the first scholar to be awarded D. Litt Degree on the Gandhian movement by the Saugar University.

Dr. Bakshi is the author of several works on Indian nationalism and freedom movement.

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